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SOCIAL LIFE IN ANCIENT INDIA

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Edited by
D. C. SIRCAR
Carmichael Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta.

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA
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PREFACE

In the proceedings of the five series of our two days' annual inter-university seminars so far published, Parts I and II dealing with two different subjects have been clubbed together. This is not because there is any inseparable connection between the two subjects of the first and second days, but because one of the two parts would hardly have made a sizable volume in the earlier years. However, with the increasing popularity of the seminars, the number of papers contributed to the fifth series was more than double the number received five years previously for the first. In the series of our seminars held in February, 1970, the number of papers received for both the days was high enough to make it possible to publish Part I (Early Indian Indigenous Coins) and Part II (Social Life in Ancient India) of the proceedings separately as two volumes.

The papers have been arranged, as far as practicable, from a chronological point of view. All the papers read at the Seminars, however, could not be included in the volumes.

The proceedings have been drawn up from notes submitted by the reporters to whom my sincere thanks are due. In this matter, Dr. A. K. Chatterjee and Sm. K. Bajpeyi, Junior Research Fellows at the Centre, rendered me considerable help. The index of the volume has been prepared by Dr. Sm. Juthika Maitra, another Junior Research Fellow, and I am extremely thankful to her.

Centre of Advanced Study, Dept. of
Ancient Indian History and Culture,
Calcutta University, 51/2, Hazra Road,
Calcutta-19. August 26, 1970.

D. C. SIRCAR
Director

Part II
SOCIAL LIFE IN ANCIENT INDIA

Proceedings of the Seminar

Second Day

Date : 27th February, 1970.
Time : 10-30 A.M. to 1 P.M. and 2 to 5 P.M.
Subject : Social Life in Ancient India.
Place : Lecture Hall at the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, 51/2, Hazra Road, Calcutta-19.
Chairman : PROF. D.C. SIRCAR, Calcutta University.

Participants besides the Chairman :

1.	PROF. T. V. MAHALINGAM	Madras University
2.	PROF. A. D. PUSALKER	Poona University
3.	DR. SM. S. GOKHALE	Do.
4.	DR. A. M. SHASTRI	Nagpur University
5.	DR. SM. B. LAHIRI	Jadavpur University
6.	DR. K. K. THAPLYAL	Lucknow University
7.	DR. N. AHMED	Banaras Hindu University
8.	DR. J. P. SINGH	Do.
9.	DR. J. RAI	Gorakhpur University
10.	SRI B. B. DE	Gauhati University
11.	SRI A. K. CHAKRAVARTI	Sanskrit College, Calcutta
12.	SM. M. MUKHOPADHYAY	Beltala Girls' School, Calcutta
13.	DR. SM. K. SAHA	Centre of Advanced Study in AIHC, Calcutta University
14.	DR. D. R. DAS	Do.
15.	DR. N. N. BHATTACHARYA	Do.
16.	DR. A. K. CHATTERJEE	Do.
17.	SM. K. BAJPEYI	Do.
18.	SRI J. R. HALDAR	Do.

and others

Reporters : DR. A. K. CHATTERJEE, SM. K. BAJPEYI and others.

Morning Session

The seminar started at 10-30 A. M. when Prof. A. D. Pusalker was invited by Prof. D. C. Sircar to read his paper entitled 'Some Aspects of Social Life in the *Mahābhārata*'. In it Prof. Pusalker discussed some of the interesting features of the society depicted in that monumental work.

Dr. A. K. Chatterjee supported Prof. Pusalker's view that polyandry was unusual in the *Mahābhārata* society. Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya opined that polyandry was related to promiscuity. Dr. Sm. S. Gokhale remarked that the practice of *Niyoga* remained a popular custom upto the middle age. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee pointed out that there is nothing in the *Mahābhārata* to suggest that remarriage of the widows was extensively practised among the Āryas. Sri B. P. Mishra drew attention to Damayantī's second *svayaṁvara* which, in his opinion, was an evidence in favour of the existence of widow-marriage. Prof. Sircar cited the case of princess Mādhavī, who lived with several kings one after another in order to bear their children, in order to show that the rules of obtaining wives and children were rather loose in the society depicted in the *Mahābhārata*. Dr. J. Rai felt that there were some contradictions in Prof. Pusalker's paper, while Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay was critical of its title.

Dr. Sm. S. Gokhale next read her paper entitled '*Annabhoga* as described in the *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi* or *Mānasollāsa*', in which she enumerated the various kinds of food-preparations meant for the king. Dr. A. M. Shastri suggested the readings *ṣaṣṭhika* (a variety of rice) and *dhosā* (for *dhosaka*) and drew attention to an interesting paper on 'Iḍli and Dhosā' by P. K. Gode. Dr. Sm. Gokhale was, however, sure about the reading *dhosaka*. Dr. A. N. Lahiri doubted whether *kṣīraprakāra* could be the *sandeśa* of Bengal, because the latter is not made of *kṣīr*. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay said that there is a long list of

foods and drinks in the *Aṅgavijjā*. Dr. Shastri referred to the *Bhojanakutūhala* in this connection.

Sm. K. Bajpeyi then read a paper entitled 'Women in the Early Epigraphs of Mathurā'. As regards the position of the *gaṇikā*, Dr. D. R. Das thought that courtesans did not always enjoy a dignified position in the society. Sm. K. Goswami doubted whether donations made by women indicate their significant position in social life. Prof. Sircar remarked that, for making costly gifts, women must have been in the possession of wealth or in a position to spend money earned by their husbands or sons.

Dr. A. K. Chatterjee next read his paper entitled 'Misogynistic Ideas in Ancient Indian Literature' which dealt with some of the derogatory and misogynic remarks about women found in early Indian literature. Prof. Sircar commented that the passages cited by Dr. Chatterjee might be the utterances of prejudiced men. Dr. A. M. Shastri and Dr. Thaplyal remarked that there are hundreds of passages in ancient Sanskrit and Pali texts which are full of praise for women. Dr. Chatterjee replied that he had only dealt with the misogynistic ideas. Dr. Sm. P. Niyogi said that Dr. Chatterjee's paper was one-sided. Prof. Sircar then remarked that someone could write on the eulogy of the fair sex in early Indian literature. Dr. A. N. Lahiri observed that the subordinate position of women in the Indian society is proved by the fact that they lived in seclusion. Prof. Sircar observed that there are instances of the secluded life of ladies in the royal harem, e.g., the seclusion of a princess in the Great Epic, though the *Arthaśāstra* refers to seclusion of women as a practice even among the common people.

Next Prof. T. V. Mahalingam read his paper, entitled 'Śaivism under the Pallavas'. In this paper, Prof. Mahalingam reviewed the main features of the Śaiva movement during the supremacy of the Pallava dynasty. Prof. D. C. Sircar suggested that, even though religious life may be regarded as an aspect of the social life of a people, considering the subject of

the seminar, probably the title of the paper could better be 'The Śaivas in the Society of the Pallava Age'. Sri B. P. Mishra said that the Kāpālikas referred to by Prof. Mahalingam are also prominently mentioned in the *Mālatīmādhava* of Bhavabhūti, while Dr. A. K. Chatterjee observed that they are frequently mentioned in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva, which also refers to human-sacrifices. Prof. D. C. Sircar said that the social practices referred to in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* should not be ascribed to the time of the original author of the *Bṛhatkathā* and, in this connexion, pointed to the legend of king Vikramāditya in that work, which must have developed many centuries after Guṇāḍhya. Dr. N. Ahmed observed that Muslims are mentioned in Somadeva's work ; but Prof. Pusalker and Dr. Chatterjee did not agree with him.* Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay pointed out that the worship of Ardhanārī-śvara was not mentioned by Prof. Mahalingam.

Sm. C. Gupta then read her note on 'Vārika' in which she tried to trace the origin of the Bengali family name 'Bārik'. Sm. Gupta said that *Vārika* was an official designation indicating officers entrusted with various kinds of superintending work. Prof. Sircar observed that, in the inscriptions outside Bengal, *Vārika* sometimes means a Paṇḍā or superintendent of temple services, who were Brāhmaṇas, though the wine-distiller of the State was also the *Kalvapāla-vārika.* He further said that *Śāntivārika* of the Bengal inscriptions may be a Brāhmaṇa related to the *śānti* rites or to 'the *śānti* water'. Dr. S. K. Mitra pointed out that, while the *Śānti-vārikas* were Brāhmaṇas, the Bengali Bāriks are non-Brāhmaṇas. Dr. K. K. Thaplyal wanted to associate *vārika* with *nivāraṇa* and Dr. A. M. Shastri with the root *vṛ*.

* [Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (VII. 48-63) refers to the Turuṣka (Turkish Muslim) invasion of the Punch region of Kashmir under the Hammira (Sultān Mahmūd, 998-1030 A. D.) during the reign of the Kashmirian king Saṅgrāma (1003-28 A. D.). Somadeva, who composed the *Kathāsaritsāgara* between 1063 and 1081 A. D., mentions the Tājika (Arab) and Turuṣka (Turk), but not the Muhammadans particularly. See Tawney and Penzer, *The Ocean of Story*, Vol. II, p. 93 ; Vol. III, p. 185.—Ed.]

Next Dr. Sm. K. Saha read her note entitled 'Conception of the Brāhmaṇa in Pali Literature'. Prof. Sircar observed that the well-known *Dhammapada* approach to the question was more or less theoretical. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee said that the Buddha himself had regards for the Brāhmaṇas and some of his greatest disciples like Sāriputta and Moggallāna were Brāhmaṇas by birth. Dr. A. M. Shastri also said that most of the Buddhist monks were drawn from that caste. Dr. D. R. Das observed that the Buddha had no regard for Brāhmaṇical rituals. Prof. Sircar and Dr. N. Ahmed said that the Buddha had respect for a true Brāhmaṇa, but not for an individual who was only a Brāhmaṇa by name. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee thought that the Buddha was deeply influenced by Upaniṣadic teaching.

Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya then read his note on 'Matrilineal Inheritance in India' in which he discussed the question of women inheriting their parents' property in certain parts of the country. Dr. J. Rai observed that tribal influence is decernible in the later Smṛti texts. Dr. S. R. Das remarked that Dr. Bhattacharya had confused between mother-right and matriarchy. He further observed that, even in matriarchal society, the father plays a dominant part and that, among the matriarchal Khasis, the superior status of the male is proved by the fact that a Khasi husband has the right to kill a faithless wife. Prof. Sircar was inclined to explain the position of the stronger sex in relation to the adage 'might is right'. Dr. Das asked Prof. Sircar whether he regarded the Śātavāhanas as a matriarchal people. Prof. Sircar replied in the negative and pointed out that metronymics like Gautamīputra had nothing to do with succession to the throne, because a Śātavāhana king was succeeded not by his sister's son, but by his brother or son.

The morning session closed for lunch at 1 P. M.

Afternoon Session

When the afternoon session of the seminar began at 2 P. M., Dr. S. P. Singh was invited to read his paper entitled 'Some Beliefs and Customs from the Rajgir Coins'. He discussed some of the interesting figures depicted on the coins found at Rajgir, including one of a monkey and another of the Mother-goddess. Dr. Singh observed that the monkey-cult was known during the days of Harappa culture. Prof. D. C. Sircar was not inclined to accept Dr. Singh's view that the monkey-cult was as old as Indian culture.* Prof. Sircar and Dr. A. M. Shastri observed that the mere representation of a particular figure on a thing did not prove that it was a cult object. Dr. Ahmed remarked that the monkey is represented on the coins of the Candellas. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay and Dr. Shastri thought that Dr. Singh's paper deals with numismatics and religious life and is not suitable for a seminar on social life.

Sri J. R. Haldar then read his paper entitled 'Caste in Buddhist Mythology', in which he discussed the position of the different Hindu communities in Pali literature. He discussed the origin of castes and observed that, unlike the Vedic texts, the Pali works depict the Kṣatriyas as the highest social grade. Prof. Sircar observed that, even among the Buddhists, birth had its importance although activities were also regarded as important. Sri Adhir K. Chakravarti said that one comes across contradictory observations on caste in the Pali literature.

* [Aelian (2nd or 3rd century A. D.) is supposed to have copied the following account of India from Megasthenes : "At the city of Latage, they (i.e. monkeys) come in crowds to the region outside the gates and eat the boiled rice which is put out for them from the king's house—everyday a banquet is placed conveniently for them—and when they have had their fill, they go back to their haunts in the forest in perfect order, and do not damage anything in the neighbourhood" (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 406). This is omitted from Aelian's account quoted in R. C. Majumdar's *The Classical Accounts of India*, pp. 413-21. The above passage, however, does not prove the worship of monkeys.—Ed.]

Prof. D. C. Sircar read his paper entitled 'South Indians in Bengal' in which he attempted a survey of the various South Indian elements in Bengali population and culture. According to Prof. Sircar, South Indians started settling in Bengal at least from the days of the early Pālas and this process continued for quite a long time. He drew attention to the Naṭarāja images, apparently of South Indian inspiration, discovered in South-East Bengal. He was also of the opinion that the present-day Vaidya community of Bengal developed as a result of the admixture of the local physicians with the Ambaṣṭha-Vaidya settlers (originally barbers by profession) from Tamil Nadu. Prof. Sircar further remarked that the Bhakti movement started by Caitanya was inspired by South Indian Vaiṣṇavism.

Dr. A. Shastri observed that there were several clans of the Ambaṣṭha tribe in different parts of India. Dr. K. K. Dasgupta observed that the Naṭarāja images were discovered from other parts of North India, especially from Orissa. Dr. Dasgupta further observed that stylistically the Bengal Naṭarājas were quite different from the Naṭarāja images of the South. Prof. Sircar replied that Orissa was under considerable Tamil influence during the medieval age, while the Bengal Naṭarājas suddenly appeared during the days of the Candras. Dr. Thaplyal referred to the so-called Naṭarāja images of Harappa. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay observed that the reference to revival of Brāhmaṇism during the Sena period after the age of the Pālas, who were Buddhists, may not be quite suitable because there was never an eclipse of Brāhmaṇism in Bengal.*

Dr. D. R. Das then read his note entitled 'Go-grahaṇa' in which he discussed the question of cattle-lifting in ancient India. According to Dr. Das cattle-lifting was widely prevalent. Prof. Sircar observed that, amongst the numerous instances of cattle-lifting recorded in inscriptions, usually on hero-stones,

*['Revival' here means 'return to vigour' due to the Senas paying more attention to Hinduism than the Pālas.—Ed.]

the Prakrit epigraph from Gangaperuru (Cuddapah District, Andhra Pradesh) offers one of the third century A. D.

Dr. J. Rai read his paper entitled 'Social Mobility in Ancient India'. In this, he observed that, for a correct appraisal of ancient Indian society, it was necessary not only to study the social structure, but also the processes which determined the competence of groups and members of the society. Dr. Rai further remarked that the gigantic impact of agrarian and urban economy upon social mobility should also be taken into account. Prof. D.C. Sircar observed that Dr. Rai makes a number of generalisations. In Prof. Sircar's opinion, the position of the Vaiśyas and Śūdras improved before the Mauryas and he cited the case of the Nanda kings of the Śūdra stock and Vaiśya Puṣyagupta, governor of Surāṣṭra under Candragupta Maurya. He further said that the expression *Brahma-Kṣatra* is often misunderstood and that it really means a person in whose veins there was both Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya blood. He also pointed out that Dr. Rai should have discussed the evidence of the *Kāmasūtra* and inscriptions. Dr. Shastri pointed out that Vaiśya was not only a community, but also the name of a people according to the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*. Dr. S. K. Mitra was not happy about the use of the term 'mobility' in the title of Dr. Rai's paper.

Sm. Manisha Mukhopadhyay then read her paper entitled 'Social Life of the Gods in Sanskrit Inscriptions'. She pointed out how the Indians' beliefs and the Indian way of life have been reflected in the depiction of the gods and goddesses. Sm. Mukhopadhyay further observed that the epigraphic descriptions resemble those given in the epics and the Purāṇas. Dr. Sm. Gokhale observed that the description of Gaṅgā does not agree with the Purāṇic representation of the goddess. Dr. K. K. Dasgupta said that sculptural evidence should have to be studied along with that supplied by inscriptions.

Sri B. P. Mishra read his paper entitled 'Polyandry in Ancient India' in which he endeavoured to show that the custom

of women marrying or living at a time with more than one person was not rare in ancient India. Sri Mishra quoted some passages from the *Ṛgveda* and other Vedic and Purāṇic works to show the prevalence of polyandry. Prof. Sircar commented that Sri Mishra had confused polyandry with *Niyoga*, prostitution and adultery. He also mentioned in this connexion the system of 'Devara marriage' as practised in Orissa, which is different from polyandry. Dr. A. M. Shastri was also not satisfied with Sri Mishra's arguments. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee observed that Draupadī's marriage is the only important case of polyandry in ancient Indian literature.

Sri A. K. Chakravarti then read his paper entitled 'The Sources of Slavery in Ancient Cambodia' in which he mainly discussed the evidence of epigraphic records. Sri Chakravarti observed that the economy of Cambodia depended, to a very large extent, on slave labour. Prof. Sircar observed that the sources of slavery in Cambodia were similar to those in India. He pointed out that a significant addition to the slave market was made by the prisoners of war. Dr. J. Rai said that the system of landed aristocracy gave birth to slavery in ancient days. Dr. Thaplyal referred to the work on slavery in ancient India by Dr. Devraj Chanana.

Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay then read two notes, the first on 'Gambling in Early Indian Epigraphs', and the second on adulteration and bribery. In the second note, Dr. Bandyopadhyay added some more references to those on bribery and adulteration cited in Dr. A. K. Chatterjee's note published in the *Prācyavidyātaraṅgiṇī* (ed. Sircar, 1969). Dr. Chatterjee pointed out that Dr. Bandyopadhyay had confused between the terms 'adulteration' and 'adultery'.

Sri R. K. Billorey then read his note entitled 'Social Life as depicted on Maurya and Śuṅga Terracottas'. Prof. Sircar and Dr. A. K. Chatterjee regarded the paper as interesting.

Sri R. P. Majumdar read his notes entitled 'Non-Brāhmaṇical Influence in Early Bhūrisṛṣṭi' and 'Laghu-Cīna in the

Deśāvalīvivṛti'. Prof. Sircar pointed out that Sri Majumdar's second note had nothing to do with social life which was the subject of the seminar. Dr. Lahiri observed that Sri Majumdar had made a lot of confusion in both his notes.

The afternoon session of the seminar then closed at 5 P. M. with Prof. Sircar's heartiest thanks to all the participants. Prof. Sircar also appealed to the representatives of the various universities to forgive the organisers of the seminars for whatever incoveniences they might have experienced during their short stay in Calcutta. Dr. Shastri, Dr. Thaplyal, Dr. Ahmed and others expressed their satisfaction at the grand success of the seminars and also paid their tribute to the Chairman.

SOCIAL MOBILITY IN ANCIENT INDIA

J. Rai, Gorakhpur University.

"It is impossible" announced Baudhāyana, the representative of the rural world of the *Dharmaśāstras*, "that a townsman will ever attain salvation." Sneering, and with a banter, retorted Īśvaradatta, the sybarite of the *Kāma* tradition, "Even a short stay in a village will, of certainty, damage the senses and smother the aesthetic susceptibilities." Thus, there were two different worlds, i.e. the rural and urban, in ancient India with two different attitudes, aspirations and ways of living. The rural world with communal corporate life, joint family system comprising various members as coparceners and agrarian economy, was characterised by a comparatively rigid social stratification. Cities, with a wide network of luxurious industries interlinking the regional economy into the national, and far-flung mercantile activities, tended to create a world view which was more liberal, tolerant and accommodating. The epicurean attitude born of luxury and splendour gave an edge to the criticism of rigid social stratification envisaged in the rural world. There subsisted a tension in the social structure due to the alternate and sometimes simultaneous impact of contrary trends generated by rural culture and urban civilization. These two contrary traditions were upheld respectively by two parallel schools of *dharma* and *kāma* and, in order to make a correct appraisal of the social mobility in ancient India, one has to take into account both the traditions represented by the Dharmaśāstras and the *Kāmasūtra.* Unfortunately, ancient social historians, overwhelmed by the rich canonical literature, tried to understand the structure of social organisation without properly noting the social processes which brought about structural transformations.

Social mobility is defined by Sorokin as 'the movement of individuals or groups from one social position to another and

the circulation of cultural objects, values and traits among individuals and groups', and he further remarks, "mobility makes the social structure elastic, breaks caste and class isolation, undermines traditionalism and stimulates rationalism'.[1] This concept of social mobility assumes a deeper complexion in the caste-ridden Indian society and means, in addition to the change in social competence and economic status, a change in caste as well.

Evidently, for a stereoscopic vision of society in the depth dimension of time, it is necessary that not only an investigation into the structure of society, but also such processes be studied the operation of which introduced change and transformation in the social framework. A study of various currents and cross-currents is indispensable for the proper appraisal of social mobility. In this connection a reference may be made to the theory of Sanskritization, universalization and parochialization advanced by some of the modern sociologists. Having studied social mobility in a functional-synchronistic framework, they tend to treat these social processes of Sanskritization and others as mere modern phenomena and base *ex cathedra* on them the philosophy of change in Indian society ignoring the earlier history of these social processes. However, when seen at a dichromistic level, the process of change in modern society reveals itself as the continuation of a stream which flowed for long as a subterranean current, and helps us in understanding its real import and meaning. A tension in society was created variously through a struggle between the collectivistic and individualistic proprietary concepts, between the agrarian and urban economy, between the imperialistic and the feudalistic ideologies, between the tribal vestiges and kingly concepts and between the Vedic and non-Vedic ideologies. The tension is eventually resolved with the emergence of a new order which gradually crystallized into accepted norms, rules, laws, injunctions and

1 *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, Vol. X, pp. 554-55.

conventions. This provided a dynamic conservatism to ancient Indian society. In fact, many of the provisions of the law-books, which inform us of the change in the social competence of various castes from time to time, will become difficult to understand without taking the mobility into consideration.

In the pre-dominantly agrarian economy of the Vedic period, social competence revolved round cattle and land. These two factors tended to create economic disparity in the tribal structure leading ultimately to the emergence of a class of nobles distinct from the commonality (*Viś*). From the study of the *Brāhmaṇas*, it is evident that there were three economic layers in society—the nobility, the agriculturists and the servile class. Terms such as *grāma-kāma* or 'desirous of a village', which do not occur in the tribal phase of the Aryan society, are frequently referred to in the later Vedic literature[2] and point to the grants of villages by kings to his favourites. This practice led to the growth of a nobility which was characterized by the lordship over villages. Beneath these nobles were the real cultivators who owned land and cattle. On the lowest rung of the economic ladder stood the servile class which possessed no land and worked as slaves and servants or turned to other pursuits. The status of these economic classes may be understood through a passage of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[3] where the Vaiśya is described as 'tributary to another', 'to be lived on by another' and 'to be oppressed at will' and the Śūdra is termed 'the servant of another', 'to be expelled at will' and 'to be slain at pleasure'. Let us not presume that these three layers represented a strictly fixed and water-tight compartmentalization of the Vedic society. Being economic in nature their status was flexible and the three classes represented the three broad divisions of society—nobility or the consumers' class, the Viś or the producers' class and the helots. That there was not a silent acquiescence to status is evident from an

2 *Tait. Saṁ.*, II. 1.1.2 ; 3.2 ; 3.9.2 ; *Mait. Saṁ.*, II. 1.9 ; 2.3 ; IV. 2.7.

3 VII. 29.

echo of occasional feuds between the nobility and the Viś revealed by certain passages of the works belonging to this period.[4] Economic privileges gave social power and determined competence. and a chapter of the *Atharvaveda*[5] is devoted to Indra for procuring lordship over villages, superiority over people and possession of cattle and other riches connected with agrarian economy. Possession of land and cattle disturbed the economic balance of the early Vedic society and the above-cited passage of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* shows that the Viś and the helots came to be regarded as subservient to the nobility, and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* states that the peasantry was subservient and obedient to the nobility.[6] But not all the members of the Viś enjoyed equal status. According to the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*,[7] a Vaiśya always aspired for the post of *Grāmaṇī* which was 'probably conferred by the king on wealthy Vaiśyas of whom no doubt there were many'.[8] This post of the headman of a village (*Grāmaṇī*) must have been instrumental in raising the status of a Vaiśya above other villagers. That this *Grāmaṇī* was a member of the royal entourage (*ratnin*) and the king had to repair to the houses of the *ratnins*[9] on the occasion of the *rājasūya* shows that the Vaiśya-grāmaṇī enjoyed an elevated position over and above other members of the Viś.

Even the Dāsas or Śūdras, who broadly represented the class of helots, rose to a higher status on account of their respective importance in society. It is noteworthy to find that the *rathakāra* and the *takṣan*, who belonged to the class of the Śūdras, were, according to some texts, *ratnins* or king-makers.[10]

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4 *Tait. Saṁ.*, V.4.6.7 ; II. 2.11.2 ; *Mait. Saṁ.*, IV. 6.7 ; II.1.9 ; III. 3.10 ; *Kāṭh. Saṁ.*, XIX. 9 ; *Pañc. Brā.*, XVIII. 10.9 ; *Śat. Brā.*, II. 1.3.5 ; VIII. 7.2.3 ; XIII 2.2.17 ; etc.

5 IV. 22.

6 IV. 3.3.10.

7 II. 5.4.4.

8 *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 334.

9 Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, Pt. II, pp. 200-04.

10 *Mait. Saṁ.*, II. 6.5.

In other texts, their place is taken by *govikartṛ* (huntsman) and *pālāgala* (messenger), who likewise belonged to the caste of the Śūdras.[11] There were Śūdras who possessed a large number of cattle (*bahu-paśu*) as is evident from the *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*.[12] It is obvious that the Śūdras, who had independent property in cattle which seem still to have been the chief form of wealth, may not have been under the necessity to serve others.[13] That there were rich Śūdras cannot be denied[14] and already in the *Ṛgveda*, Balbūtha, a Dāsa, is mentioned as a giver of gifts to priests.[15]

On the other hand, the increasing importance of sacrifices led to the growth in priestly power and pretensions. Priests performed sacrifices for tribal chiefs to achieve success in war and received handsome gifts from them. Two factors of the later Vedic economy which favoured the priestly class may be observed, i.e., the agrarian character of the sacrifices and the emergence of family proprietary right as against that of the whole tribe.

The post-Vedic period was marked by several changes of far-reaching importance. We do not find in the Jātakas special privileges assigned to the higher Varṇas, nor do we find a passage parallel to what we have observed in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* where the Vaiśya is to be lived on by others and the Śūdra is the servant of others. The reason for this radical change lies in the fact that land was no longer the solitary source of subsistence. Industrial development and the rise of cities and the cash nexus had given new standards of social value. Social competence need not revolve round land and cattle only. Those who had no land could now turn to other lucrative business and by dint of their wealth could command

11 Jayaswal, *op .cit.*, p. 203 ; Sharma, *Śūdras*, p. 49.

12 VI. 1. 11.

13 Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

14 *Mait. Saṁ.*, IV. 2.7.10.

15 VIII. 46. 32. [He was a Nonaryan chief who had already adopted some Aryan practices. There were other Nonaryan chiefs.—Ed.]

respect in society. The literature of this period brings out several socio-economic groups with their varying status, i. e. the nobility, absentee landlords, supervisory farmers, self-sufficient cultivators, cultivators of uneconomic holdings, agricultural labourers working for wages, slaves, business-magnets, ordinary traders, artisans, non-agricultural occupations and the outcastes. That the social competence of these groups depended upon their economic status and not upon birth is evident from a number of Jātaka stories. When deposed or held captive in war, a Kṣatriya could be reduced to the position of a slave by the victor.[16] On the other hand, even barbers could receive grants of villages from kings.[17] For village lordship to be bestowed upon a barber, who occupies a servile position in the orthodox Varṇa scheme, but who enjoys a commanding position in the villages which must have included members of all the castes and Varṇas, cuts at the very root of the Hindu theory of social division and precedence based upon birth. These village-lords would decide disputes and dispense justice in the village, lay interdict upon slaughter and prohibit the sale of strong drinks.[18] They were both terrors and benevolents advancing grain to the villagers during famines.[19] But sometimes even village-headmen could be reduced to the position of a slave.[20] Even Brāhmaṇas freely took to economic pursuits discarding their traditional priestly duties. Amongst them there were great landlords like Kosiyagotta[21] managing their farms through slaves and hired men. While some were fabulously wealthy,[22] others had to struggle for their existence.[23] On the other hand, there were business-magnates who were at

16 *Jātaka*, Vol. V, No. 529, p. 132.
17 Vol. I, No. 9, p. 31 ; Vol. VI, No. 541, p. 53.
18 Vol. I, No. 139, p. 299 ; Vol. IV, No. 459, pp. 72-73.
19 Vol. II, No. 199, p. 94.
20 Vol. I, No. 31, p. 19.
21 Vol. IV, No. 484, p. 175.
22 Vol. V, No. 532, p. 165 ; Vol. II, No. 179, p. 57 ; No. 185, p. 68, etc.
23 Vol. II, No. 211, pp. 115-16 ; IV. No. 467, p. 104.

the top of society. They wielded great influence both at the royal court and in civil life. In the *Mahāvagga* (VIII. 1. 16-17)[24] the Seṭṭhi of Rājagaha is described by a merchant as doing good services both to the king and to the merchants' guild and, when the Seṭṭhi fell ill, the king sent his personal physician to cure him. In the *Cullavagga* (VI.4. 1-2),[25] we find that, when Anāthapiṇḍika saw the Seṭṭhi of Rājgaha commanding his slaves and work-people to prepare sumptuous food next day, the former wanted to know whether the latter had invited the Magadhan king. The story reflects the intimate contact which these magnates had established with the king. Evidently, money had bestowed upon these magnates a superiority which brought them respect even from the king. They used to attend royal courts.[26] Their enormous social influence is evident from the *Khaṇḍahāla Jātaka*.[27] This story is that a king wanted to offer a sacrifice of four kinds of victims, i. e., sons, queens, merchants and the choicest animals. The citizens uttered not a word at the sacrifice of sons, queens and animals ; but they loudly protested against the sacrifice of merchants. Such references prove that social competence revolved round material prosperity and worldly success and did not depend upon spiritual gain or birth.* The cult of

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24 *S. B E.*, Vol. XVII, p. 181.

25 *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pp. 179–80.

26 *Jātaka*, Vol. I, No. 53, p. 134 ; Vol. IV, No. 450, p. 41.

27 Vol. VI, No. 542, p. 72.

* [We do not fully agree with such views. Hiuen-tsang is not absolutely wrong when he says, "There are men who, far seen in antique lore and fond of the refinements of learning, are content in seclusion, leading lives of continence. ......Now as the State holds men of learning and genius in esteem, and the people respect those who have high intelligence, the honours and praises of such men are conspicuously abundant, and the attentions, private and official, paid to them are considerable......Though their family be in affluent circumstances, such men make up their minds to be like the vagrants, and get their food by begging as they go about with them ; there is honour in knowing truth (in having wisdom). and there is no disgrace in being destitute" (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 160–61).—Ed.]

wealth had cut across the concept of caste.** In the introductory portion of the *Siri Jātaka*,[28] we find that a Brāhmaṇa tried and failed to steal the luck of Anāthapiṇḍika, whereupon the Buddha remarked, "Nowadays the luck of one man does not go to another."

Evidently, the concept of caste appears irrelevant in connection with the study of social groups and their competence. The status of a member living in society depended not so much upon the caste to which he belonged as upon his material power and pelf. This seems to be the reason why the business magnates and Seṭṭhis loom so large in the social milieu of this period. The developing economy of the period had transcended the limitations of caste, and people from all the sections freely took part in industrial and mercantile activities. We find several references in the Jātaka stories to Brāhmaṇas living as carpenters,[29] fowlers, butchers,[30] snake-charmers[31] and huntsmen,[32] and in the *Amba Jātaka*,[33] a Brāhmaṇa is described as learning charms from a Caṇḍāla and serving the latter's family.

These stories show that while the line of social demarcation was gradually being marked off, it was not strictly followed, and a constant struggle between the forces of attraction and demarcation was going on. The struggle in itself presents the lacuna that existed between the ideal and the real. In the determination of social competence, what mattered was not so

** [But as early as the 4th century B. C., which is earlier than the works cited, we find rulers of the Śūdra and Vaiśya communities, e. g., the Nandas and Puṣyagupta. There were aboriginal and foreign rulers even in earlier days and also in later times.—Ed.]

28 Vol. II, No. 284, pp. 279-80.

29 Vol. IV, No. 475, pp. 129-30.

30 Vol. VI, No. 543, p. 88.

31 Vol. IV, No. 606, p. 283.

32 Vol. II, No. 222; see also *Dāsa-Brāhmaṇa Jātaka*, Vol. IV, No. 495. [This *Jātaka* deals with ten kinds of unworthy Brāhmaṇas (*daśa-Brāhmaṇa*).—Ed.]

33 Vol. IV, No. 474.

much the birth as the worth of the individual and even a Brāhmaṇa could be called a low-born (*hīna-jacco*).

With the establishment of the highly centralized bureaucratic government by the Mauryas, tremendous changes in the social competence of the various groups became inevitable. Kauṭilya viewed everything as subservient to the state. In the *Arthaśāstra*, the class of producers preponderates over that of the consumers. The *Arthaśāstra* suggests measures for the liquidation of large landed estates and the lingering vestiges of tribal economy. Tribal chiefs owned big estates whose production languished because of remote interest shown by them. The institution of absentee-landlordism was a heritage of the past which was to be wiped out. Kauṭilya was mainly concerned with the exploitation of land resources, and landlordism appeared anachronistic to his economics. He says, 'lands may be confiscated from those who do not cultivate them and given to others......If cultivators pay their taxes easily, they may be favourably supplied with grains, cattle and money'.[34] Of the two types of land, i.e., one occupied by a high-born person and another reserved for grazing a flock of cattle, Kauṭilya prefers the latter, because, while the former may cause trouble, the latter is productive of money and beasts and does not therefore deserve to be confiscated unless cultivation of crops is impeded thereby.[35] This was a direct blow to absentee-landlordism. Land system in the pre-Mauryan period was an aristocratic affair. Although, right from Ajātaśatru down to the Nandas, we have an unbroken history of the collapse of the tribal political organization due to inner contradiction, yet its economic fabric was still reared in the form of landed estates maintained by aristocratic families. Only a drastic surgery could purge the leviathan of this disease. It is with this motive that Kauṭilya discouraged slavery through which nobles maintained their estates in the pre-Mauryan period. Thus

34 II. 1.

35 VIII. 4.

several measures adopted in the *Arthaśāstra* curbed the power and prestige of the nobles and provided impetus to the class of real producers. Economic disparity disappeared to a large extent. Self-sufficiency of the villages was sought to be maintained and the vertical structure of the rural society was reduced to the minimum. The Śūdras were given priorty in the establishment of new villages.[36] Similarly, in the colonization with the four Varṇas, that with the Śūdra was considered better.[37]

On the other hand the policy of providing priority to the class of producers consisting mainly of the Śūdras at the cost of consumers adversely affected the competence of the priestly class. The *Arthaśāstra* does not follow the line of the Dharmaśāstras in providing general exemption to all the Brāhmaṇas. Only those who perform sacrifices (*ṛtvik*), spiritual guides (*ācārya*) and domestic priests (*purohita*) were to receive lands and enjoy immunity from taxation.[38] In fact, in the legal administration of the Mauryas, exemption was unknown.[39] In order to replenish the treasury Kauṭilya enjoins upon the king to avoid the property of the Brāmaṇas learned in the Vedas[40] (*śrotriya*), which means that the property of other Brāhmaṇas could be appropriated by the State. A Brāhmaṇa, if convicted of treason, was to be drowned.[41] Sacrificial rituals came within the purview of the state laws and sacrificial remuneration was also regulated and any breach in the fulfilment of an agreement was punishable.[42] The Brāhmaṇa was to be punished first if obstruction to any work of public

36 *Ibid.*, II. 1.

37 *Ibid.*, VII. 11. [We find it difficult to agree with the views expressed in the paragraph. We also do not assign the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, as we have it now, to the Maurya age. Some prescriptions of the *śāstras* are theoretical.—Ed.]

38 II. 1.

39 Jayaswal, *Manu and Yājñavalkya*, pp. 85-86.

40 V. 2.

41 IV. 11.

42 III. 14.

utility was caused.[43] Thus discriminatory laws, which were peculiar to the Dharmaśāstras, were discouraged, and in most of the cases, if not in all, the members of all the Varṇas were kept at par before the bar.*

The growing power of the business magnates was also curbed by strict control. Profits over indigenous and foreign goods were fixed[44] and fines were prescribed for those who exceeded the limits. A code of businessmen's ethics was also officially set up, and it was enjoined that, in connection with sale, a standard should be fixed which should be detrimental neither to the receiver nor to the giver.[45] A similar control was exercised over the artisans also, and lapses such as delay in the delivery of articles or in the fulfilment of an agreement were punishable by the State.[46] Even the percentage of increase and decrease in the quantity of the material during the process of manufacturing was fixed and the artisans were to confrom to this rule.[47] Wages of these artisans were also stipulated.[48]

Thus we find that the measures suggested in the *Arthaśāstra* eradicated the existence of nobles, undermined the prestige of the priestly class and curbed the power of business magnates and artisans.** Accordingly, the social competence of the upper three classes was adversely affected. Check upon the nobility on the one hand and growth of trade and commerce in the following centuries led a large number of Kṣatriyas to take to the professions of the Vaiśyas. Both the Anuśāsana-parvan[49] and the *Manusmṛti*[50] mention a large number of tribes, indige-

43 III. 10.

* [Note that Aśoka was especially respectful towards the Brāhmaṇas. Ed.]

nous and foreign, which were merely Kṣatriyas, but had not undergone the *upanayana* ceremony necessary for the study of the Vedas. The Vrātyas have been considered by Baudhāyana as those who have sprung from an intermixture of castes.[51] From the legal works, it is evident that, although these tribes were condemned as Vrātyas, attempts were made through the relaxation of the rules at incorporating them into the Vedic society. It is noteworthy that according to Gautama[52] and Yājñavalkya[53] *Vrātyatā* is a minor offence (*upapātaka*), and Manu prescribes a minor penance for all the minor offences.[54] Although the provision of these minor penances was a fiction forged by the orthodox legal writers, it nevertheless gratified their ego in their attempt to incorporate the various tribes condemned as Vrātyas within the Vedic fold. In fact, the legal thinkers of the Vedic tradition tried to interpret *ex cathedra* the social stratification in the non-Vedic societies in the frame-work of the Varṇa organisation. The interpretation, therefore, involved a distortion of reality and was meant for legally systematizing the social institutions and standardizing the conduct of members in society. The process of systematization as enunciated by Manu is apparently based upon the profession followed by various tribes.[55]

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51 I. 9. 17.15.

52 XXI. 11.

53 III. 234.

54 XI. 118.

55 It is interesting to note that Manu (X. 23) includes the Sātvatas amongst the fallen Vaiśyas. The Sātvatas are mentioned in the *Śatapatha* (XIII. 5.4.21) and the *Aitareya* (VIII. 14.3) *Brāhmaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* (Ādi-parvan, Ch. 218 ; Droṇa-parvan, Ch. 9) and *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (IV. Ch. 13) as a people either identical with or related to the Vṛṣṇi race. Their inclusion amongst the Vrātya Vaiśyas has been challenged by Yamun-ācārya (*Āgama-prāmāṇya*, pp. 75-76). Apparently, Yamun-ācārya was not conversant with the earlier problem of systematizing the various tribes into the Vedic Varṇa order. Our information about the Sātvatas is based upon V. S. Pathak's unpublished thesis entitled *Major Brāhmaṇical Religions of Northern India from 700 to 1200* (submitted for the Doctoral degree in the Banaras Hindu University), pp. 340-42. [Read 'Yāmunācārya'.—Ed.]

It appears that the legal writers have likened the members of the higher Varṇas with the Vaiśya Varṇa itself. The temptation of making fortune by trade and industry had, in fact, loosened the structure of caste and Varṇa. This brought about a tremendous change in the social competence of the members belonging to the higher Varṇas. Nārada at one place provides two distinct rules for the two types of Brāhmaṇas. He says, "it is declared that a wise man should always abstain from levying a toll on that property of a learned Brāhmaṇa which belongs to his household ; but not (on that which he uses) for trading purposes."[56] Similarly, the *Mahābhārata* mentions two categories of Brāhmaṇas, those who follow worldly pursuits and those who deny worldly pleasure,[57] and it also refers to those Brāhmaṇas who, on account of neglecting their duties prescribed in the religious texts, are likened to the Śūdras.[58] Nārada provides that the Brāhmaṇa who sells human beings and other prohibited articles should not be examined as a witness, nor one who neglects his duties, nor a *kulika*, nor a bard, nor one who serves low people.[59] While these facts leave no room for doubt that the members of the upper Varṇas stood shoulder to shoulder with the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras in the pursuit of material gain through industry and trade, they also throw light upon the social competence of the members. Economic factors seem to be the apparent cause for the deviation of the higher Varṇas from the ideal path so systematically and carefully defined in the orthodox Brāhmaṇa literature.

In this connection, it is noteworthy to find that the economic corporate bodies played a very significant role in the determination of social competence and the relaxation in the rules pertaining to castes and Varṇas. Terms such as *gaṇa*, *śreṇī*, *pūga*, *vrāta* and *saṅgha* which, in the literature, legal and other-

56 III. 14.

57 Śānti-parvan, 199.40.

58 *Ibid.*, 76. 4.

59 I. 186-87.

wise, denoted corporate bodies of artisans and merchants, were much older than these economic organizations. It was only at a later stage that they came to possess an economic bearing. Most of these terms are mentioned even in the *Ṛgveda* and later Vedic literature wherein they signify a group or multitude. They stood for communal life, collectivistic economy and classless social structure, and as such, they gradually became distinct from the Vedic society which, in the later period, developed social orchestration known as Varṇa and Jāti and the family basis of property. Thus they came to be regarded as un-Aryan or Nonaryan institutions. With their distinct political, social, religious and economic systems, they flourished outside the circle of strict Brāhmaṇism and abounded originally in the north-western part of the country which was prohibited for the Aryans. Migrating gradually from the north-west to eastern or south-western regions, due perhaps to the pressure of intruding bands, they settled in the plain in the extreme west, i.e. Surāṣṭra, or in the extreme east, i.e. Magadha, and the neighbouring regions. But their inveterate group instinct and group culture remained distinct for a much longer period from the Aryan way of life. Consequently, various tribes and groups known as *gaṇas* or *śreṇīs* earned the opprobrium of the legal writers.[60] It is significant that the tribes which, in the *Manusmṛti*, are termed Vrātyas were renowned *gaṇas*.* It appears that, after the establishment of monarchies, these tribal institutions were divested of their political power. But their socio-economic system proved more obstinate. Within the framework of the monarchical constitution, they retained their group life which was marked

60 Food offered by the *gaṇas* was forbidden by Manu (IV. 209), Viṣṇu (51.7), Gautama (17.17), Vasiṣṭha (14.10), Yājñavalkya (1.161) and Āpastamba (I. 6.18.16). It is also noteworthy that the regions, which, according to the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, *Mahābhārata*, *Arthaśāstra* and the Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman, were studded with *śreṇīs*, were condemned and the Aryans were prohibited to visit them.

* [Only a few of them.—Ed.]

by democratic spirit. Fortunately for these republican peoples, the establishment of the Mauryan empire coincided with the growth of cities and an industrial-mercantile economy. If the imperial administration had them shorn of political power, the acceleration in the process of urbanization and the brisk industrial and mercantile activities offered them impetus to work collectively, through these age-old institutions. This seems to explain the fact that in the subsequent period the economic corporation of artisans and merchants continued to bear the names of *gaṇa*, *śreṇī*, *pūga*, *vrāta* and *saṅgha*.

These economic corporate bodies or guilds were constituted by members of all the Varṇas as is evident from their definitions given in the *Mitākṣarā* and *Vīramitrodaya* as well as in other works. The democratic constitutions of these guilds which drew members from all the strata of society must have deeply impaired the orthodox hierarchical system envisaged through the status and prerogative assigned to members of different Varṇas by the orthodox writers of legal literature. It is evident from the said literature that every member of these guilds enjoyed equal status irrespective of castes and Varṇa unless otherwise stipulated. As the member of an economic body, everyone was treated at par with his co-workers and had no pretensions due to his membership to any caste. The loss and profit in these guilds are decided by the share which every member contributes towards the common stock.[61] It is significant to note that while legal.writers provide discriminatory rules for all the Varṇas in connection with the rate of interest, treasure-trove, punishment for various offences and other similar subjects, they do not refer to any special privilege based upon caste and Varṇa of a member of an economic body. Thus these guilds, both of artisans and merchants, scattered throughout the length and breadth of the country and, drawing their members from all the four Varṇas and providing

61 Manu, VIII. 211 ; Yāj., II. 262 ; Kātyāyana, 626 ; Nārada, III. 3; Bṛi., XIV. 3-4 ; Kauṭilya, III. 14.

equal status to everyone, stand out in sharp contrast to the social order as enunciated in the legal literature. They were instrumental in destroying the edifice of caste* and in giving their members a status which was very much different from that of the Vedic fourfold order.

It may, however, be mentioned that after a long and protracted opposition, the jurists of Vedic tradition had to admit in their legal systems the practices of the guilds. A king was enjoined to take into consideration the practices of guilds while enunciating his policy.[62]

To sum up, for a correct appraisal of ancient Indian society, what is necessary is not only a study of the social structure, but also of the social processes which determined the competence of groups and members and brought about occasional changes in legal provisions also. One has also to take into account the tremendous impact of agrarian and urban economy upon social mobility. In the villages for instance, the artisan section enjoyed a very low status and was subservient to the land-owning class. But in the cities, this class played a very important role and enjoyed a respectable position. It was not only in close touch with the city-man (*nāgaraka*), but, by dint of the corporate bodies and prosperous industries, enjoyed a status which was much higher than its counterparts in the rural areas. Similarly, there were several factors which governed the social competence of the nobles, priestly class and businessmen.

Another aspect of social mobility was a change in social competence along with the change in caste. The theory of the mixed origin of certain castes and the assignment of caste and Varṇa to various non-Vedic communities on the basis of the professions followed by them point to the flexibility of caste

* [Most of the guilds were based on profession or caste. According to epigraphic evidence, in the second century A.D., there were at least two weavers' guilds in the city of Govardhana. There were similar guilds in different parts of the country.—Ed.]

62 Manu, VIII. 41.

and Varṇa rules and their constant adjustment with the changing situation. This characteristic feature of social mobility continued down to the early medieval period as is evident from such terms as *Brahma-Kṣatra* applied to some of the ruling dynasties of this period,[63] which shows that there were Brāhmaṇas 'who discarded their priestly profession for martial pursuits'.

Thus, social mobility caused by status discrepancy manifested itself in two ways—the change merely in social competence and in the social status concomitant with the change in caste.

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63 V. S. Pathak, *Ancient Historians of India*, p. 164. [This interpretation suggested by D. R. Bhandarkar is wrong. *Brahma-Kṣatra* really means one who has the blood of both Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya in his veins.—Ed.]

GO-GRAHAṆA*

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The Hindu attitude towards cattle developed into a sentiment giving special value to this animal. We may refer, in this connection, to the occurrence of the representation of bull on the Indus seals. In the days of the *Ṛgveda*, much importance was attached to the possession of cattle. There are numerous Vedic passages in which the gods are invoked for making the sacrificer prosperous with cattle. Considering the value of cow, a tendency of lifting cattle either by stealing or by force developed in the society. We have several passages in the *Ṛgveda* referring to forays for cattle. So common were such raids that the word *gaviṣṭi* indicating 'battle for cattle' came to denote any 'conflict' or 'battle'.[1] In *RV*, III. 33.11, the Bharatas are described as a host desirous of cows (*gavyan grāmaḥ*). We have also the root *gup*, 'to protect', which was evolved as early as the time of the *Ṛgveda* from the denominative *gopāya*, 'to guard cows'.[2] In one passage, appointment of guards for protecting the cattle is suggested.[3] Prayers were made for keeping the cows away from the *taskaras* and the weapons of the enemies.[4] Indra was requested to resist any raid for cattle.[5] Indra, however, manifests his character not so much as the protector, but as the lifter of cattle.[6] His help is sought for seizing the cattle of the enemies[7] and the cows of the

* [The revised copy of the paper was received in August, 1970.—Ed.]

1 See Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 233.

2 *Loc. cit.*

3 III. 31. 10.

4 VI. 28. 3 and 7.

5 VI. 46. 10.

6 III. 44. 5 ; IV. 17. 11 ; VI. 17. 1 ; 26. 2; X. 38. 1 ; 48. 4.

7 IV. 31. 13 ; VI. 35. 2 ; 41. 2 ; VIII. 21. 11 ; X. 24. 14.

Kīkaṭas.[8] He is credited with the discovery of cows of the Rāmyas.[9] He seizes the cattle of the Dasyus[10] and releases them from the *goṣṭha* of Kuvi(dhi ?)tsa.[11] He is invoked as the discoverer of concealed cows.[12] This seems to have bearing on the event in which Indra is found rescuing the cows imprisoned in the mountain fort.[13] The incident or incidents presented here under the garb of metaphysical meaning may actually refer to some happenings of great importance. Often it is said that cows in the *Ṛgveda* denote the rays of light or the showers from the clouds. But as Dange[14] points out, this indicates only the later stage of assimilation. Under it lies the fact of the actual release of the cows from the cave. The *Rgveda* gives a list of operations in which the letting loose of cows is an exploit different from that of the release of the waters,[15] which makes it clear that originally the cows are different from the streams of water or the rays of light. In one exploit, Brahmaṇaspati is said to have opened out the mountain and released the captive hoards of cows. All were covered with darkness prior to their release.[16] The mountain that opens out gives the idea of an actual cave in the mountain which is dark and hence invisible and in which stolen cows might actually be kept in hiding. The original Separateness of the cows and the rays of light or the streams of water can be noted also from the fact that the release of cows stands as a favourite comparison.[17] This suggests a stage of assimilation.

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8 III. 53. 14.

9 III. 34. 3.

10 IV. 19. 7.

11 VI. 45. 24.

12 IV. 28. 5.

13 III. 31. 5-7 ; V. 30. 4 ; VI. 17. 5-6 ; 32. 2-3 ; 39. 2 ; 43. 3 ; VIII. 3. 19 ; X. 138. 2.

14 *Nagpur University Journal*, Vol. XV, No. 2, 1965, pp. 166 ff.

15 *ṚV*, I. 32. 12 ; III. 19. 3 ; VI. 60. 2, etc.

16 II. 23. 18 ; 24. 3.

17 I. 91. 13 ; VI. 28. 7 ; VIII. 92. 12, etc.

We have strong reasons to believe that the *Ṛgvedic* episode, in which Indra forcibly released the cows kept by the Paṇis in mountain forts and gave them to the Aṅgirases, has a factual basis. It is said that, before the raid was conducted, Saramā led a mission to the Paṇis. She asked them to part with their cattle which they had collected. The Paṇis said that their live-stock was protected by the mountains and well-armed guards. They also tried to seduce Saramā, but failed. Saramā advised them to take shelter in a distant land because Bṛhaspati, Soma and others already came to know about their hidden cows.[18] This mission was apparently followed by Indra's march against the Paṇis, in which the impregnable mountain fort of Vala was destroyed and the Paṇis were subdued. The purpose of this action is expressly stated to have been the rescue of the cows concealed within the mountains.[19] In *ṚV*, X. 62.2, the Aṅgirases are extolled for conducting one year's sacrifice leading to the destruction of Vala who stole cows. An account of this rescue operation is given in *ṚV*, X. 67.3–8. There it is stated that the cows were gathered in a cave, the three doors of which were locked. Bṛhaspati first entered the city and then opened all the three doors of the cave. Vala who had imprisoned the cows was killed. The god then took all the cows much to the distress of the Paṇis.[20]

Attempts have been made to give a metaphysical interpretation of the above story.[21] Keith[22] takes it to be a nature-myth and says the cows 'must be the morning-beams of light' and not 'the rain-clouds', because 'Indra is brought into picture'. But the cows are distinguished from the light-beams and

18 X. 108; cf. also III. 31. 6.

19 VI. 39. 2; cf. also VI. 44. 22; VII. 9. 2; IX. 22. 7. The Paṇis are depicted as cattle-lifters and Soma is said to have come to know this. Cf. *ṚV*, IX. 111. 2.

20 Cf. also VI. 73. I and 3; X. 68. 2-11.

21 For a detailed discussion, see Hariappa, *Ṛgvedic Legends through the Ages*, Deccan College, Poona, 1953.

22 *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and the Upaniṣads*, Vol. I, p. 129.

streams many times in the *Ṛgveda*. Hillebrandt rightly finds in this account a piece of history turned into a myth[23]. Following the clue dropped by Yāska and noted by Roth that the Paṇis were traders[24] and that of Ludwig[25] that they were aboriginal nomads, Dange[26] thinks that they were not only traders in cattle and other materials, but also carried on occasional raids for cattle, and hid their stolen wealth in mountain caves.[27] Dange cites several examples to show how cattle-lifting lurked in the memory of the myth-makers. It can be seen from the legend of Kṛṣṇa who is said to have restored the cattle stolen by Brahmadeva.[28] Wars for the gain of cows are known to the *Ṛgveda*.[29] In the Classical myths of Heracles and Geryoneus, and of Heracles and Cacus, the hero wins the stolen cattle from the monster.[30] In the *Avesta*, it is Ahura who restores the lost cattle.[31] "The predominance of the idea of regaining the lost cattle at various places shows that the account of the release of cows in the *Ṛgveda* has a factual basis and that we need not take it, as a rule, to refer to the release of water-streams or the rays of light."[32]

In one episode, Indra is seen releasing the cows after having killed Vṛtra.[33] In *ṚV*. X. 48.2, he boasts of killing Vṛtra, giving all his cows to Trita, plundering the wealth of the Dasyus and driving all the cows to Dadhīca and Mātariśvan. In another place, it is stated that Trita, being sent by Indra, fought and killed Triśiras with the weapons of his father and obtained

23 *Vedische Myth.*, Vol. I, pp. 83ff. ; Vol. III, p. 298.

24 Cf. *Nirukta*, II. 17 ; VI. 26 ; Roth, *St. Pet. Dict.*

25 *Ṛgveda*, trans., III. 213-15.

26 *Nagpur Univ. Journ.*, Vol. XV, p. 177.

27 In the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* (II. 440), the Paṇis are said to be the cowherds of the gods.

28 *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, X. 13.

29 Cf. I. 91. 23 ; III. 47. 4 ; V. 63. 5 ; VI. 59.7 ; etc.

30 Keith, *op. cit.*, pp. 128f.

31 *Loc. cit.*

32 Dange, *loc. cit.*

33 *ṚV.*, I. 32. 12 ; V. 86. 3 ; VIII. 3. 19 ; X. 89. 7.

all the cows of Tvaṣṭṛ's son Viśvarūpa who was beheaded by Indra.[34]

It is of some interest to see the wife of a sage engaged in a cattle-raid operation. We are told in the *Ṛgveda* that Indrasenā drove the chariot while she and her husband were engaged in seizing the cows of the enemies.[35]

Besides battles for cattle, petty cases involving the stealing of cattle were also common.[36] A passage in the *Ṛgveda* seems to suggest that the cattle-lifters were put to death : "[The person] who wants to destroy, O Agni, the essence of our food, of [our] horses, of [our] cows, of [our] bodies,— may he —the adversary, the robber, the theft-committer—go to destruction and be completely deprived of person and progeny."

"May he be estranged from body and progeny; may he be [thrown] below all the three worlds ; may his reputation, O gods, be blighted who seeks our destruction by day or night."[37]

But the practice continued unabated and some of the important episodes of the following periods revolved round cattle-lifting. The Great Epic contains an account in which it is stated that the Vasus, Pṛthu and others came to the hermitage of Vasiṣṭha and the wife of one of them, called Dyaus, desired Nandinī, the cow whose milk gave youth for ten thousand years. So Dyaus, Pṛthu and the other Vasus stole the cow. Vasiṣṭha cursed all except Dyaus to be born on earth as men for only a year ; but the guilty Dyaus had to remain longer in human form and as childless.[38] Thus Bhīṣma

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34 X. 8. 8-9.

35 X. 102. 2, 5, 8-9.

36 Cf. VI. 28. 3 and 7 ; X.97. 10.

37 VII. 104. 10-11 ; also *Our Heritage*, Vol. XV, p. 23. Nārada (*SBE*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 228) says that for [stealing] cows belonging to a Brāhmaṇa, for piercing [the nostrils of] a barren cow, and for stealing a female, [the thief] shall in every case lose half his feet. According to Bṛhaspati (XXII. 19), a cow-stealer shall have his nose cut off, and shall be plunged into water, after having been fettered.

38 *Mahābhārata*, I. 99, 1ff.

was born to play a vital role in the *Mahābhārata*. The kernel of the story seems to go back to the period of the *Ṛgveda* in which the Vasus are seen releasing the cow from bondage.[39]

Vasiṣṭha's cow was responsible for the occurrence of another incident of great importance. Both the *Mahābhārata*[40] and the *Rāmāyaṇa*[41] contains reference to it. The story says that Viśvāmitra, a Kṣatriya king, came to the hermitage of Vasiṣṭha and, seeing the supernatural power of his cow, carried it away. Vasiṣṭha took revenge by destroying the army of Viśvāmitra and recovered the cow.

That the Kṣatriyas did not find any scruple in capturing the cattle of others is suggested by the famous *go-grahaṇa* story of the *Mahābhārata.*[42] We are told that the Kauravas, taking opportunity of the absence of king Virāṭa from his capital, invaded his kingdom and seized all the cattle. But the valour of Arjuna saved the situation, and the cows were recovered.

Taking cows by force was so much a part of the Kṣatriya habit that, even in the *Rājasūya* ceremony, a sham fight for the cow takes place.[43] Thus the sacrificer places a hundred or more than a hundred cows of that relative of his to north of the Āhavanīya. He stops his chariot in the midst of the cows in the ceremonial of the *Black Yajus* ; a sham-fight takes place here. East or north of the sacrificial ground, a Rājanya posted himself with bow in hand. The king discharged the arrow at him and having thus, as it were, overpowered the enemy, he wheeled round. He then touched a cow with the end of the bow saying, "Together with energy, I overpower them ; I seize them."[44]

While raids for cattle were common, the recovery of them was considered to be an act of merit. Even persons guilty

39 X. 126. 8.

40 P. C. Roy's trans., Ādi, CLXXVIIf.

41 I. 53.

42 P. C. Roy's trans., Virāṭa, XXVIff.

43 *Śātapatha Brāhmaṇa*, V. 4.3. 1-2.

44 *SBE*, Vol. XLI, pp. 98-101.

of heinous crimes were supposed to get salvation if they tried to recover the stolen cows. Thus Āpastamba[45] says that one who has slain a Vaiśya or a Śūdra who had studied the Veda, or had initiated the performance of a Soma sacrifice or slain a man belonging to the Brāhmaṇa caste or destroyed an embryo [of a Brāhmaṇa] or killed a woman, shall build, after having performed a penance for twelve years, a hut on the path of robbers, and live there trying to take from them the cows of Brāhmaṇas. He is free from his sin, when thrice he has been defeated by them, thrice has vanquished them. According to Manu,[46] if one sacrifices one's life in defence of the Brāhmaṇas and cows, one becomes free from his sin of even Brāhmaṇa-murder. The *Viṣṇudharmaśāstra*[47] says that even an untouchable (*bāhya*) goes to heaven by giving his life in defence of the Brāhmaṇas, cows, women and children.

Epigraphical literature records numerous instances where villagers are found laying their lives in defending the livestock. The grateful people did not fail to appreciate the gallantry and heroism shown by the dead warriors in whose memory stone pillars were erected and plots of land donated to their heirs. The earliest epigraphical evidence of such resistance is provided by an inscription of about the 3rd century A. D. It was found at Gangaperuru in the Siddhavattam Taluk of the Cuddappah District in Andhra Pradesh. It records : "This figure-bearing [memorial] pillar has been raised by *Ācārya* [*]rara for [his] son Śivadāsa of the Bhāradvāja *gotra*, who has gone to heaven in [the course of] fighting in [connection with] cattle-lifting (*go-grahaṇa-sagāme*)."[48]

A similar record from Sangur in the Dharwar District, Mysore, dated in the 25th year of Siṅgaṇadeva, records that the cattle of Ceṅgūru had been captured by Īśvaradeva *alias*

45 I. 9. 24. 21.

46 XI. 79.

47 XVI. 18 ; also III. 45.

48 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 207f. ; also Sircar, *Studies in the Society and Administration of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, Vol. I, p. 321.

Sinda-Govinda, and that the gift of land as *nettaru-gey* to his memory was made by Sava-Gauḍa and all the people of the village.[49]

In another inscription from Shimoga, Mysore, dated in 1287 A. D., we read : "Bommarasa of Hosagunda,—when Kūḍali was entered, the cows captured, and Beṇṇavali-Janne-guru's village ruined,—stopped the riot, fought and slew and went to *svarga*. And Bomme-nāyaka's wife......Bave-Nāykitti, gave an arm and hand and went to *svarga*. But her son Pilleya-nāyaka, performing the further ceremonies, set up this *vīragal* in the presence of the god Honneśvara, and made a grant of land for offerings to that god Honneśvara and for carrying on the worship of the *vīragal*, washing the feet of Janneya-guru. Janneya-guru and his successors will carry on the worship of that *vīragal*, we most firmly believe."[50]

It is no use multiplying similar examples of which there is literally no end. But while hero-stones were erected to commemorate the death of one in defending the cattle, similar memorial stones sometimes were raised to celebrate a successful cattle-raid. Thus a record from Bodhināyanipalle in the Chittur District, Andhra Pradesh, refers to the great victory of Kalliyaṇṇa, the son of Pallaya-Gāmuṇḍa and the son-in-law of Būdali Pannayya of Maṅgala, in a cattle raid at that place.[51] Another inscription from the same place refers to the watchman of the Balañjigas of Maṅgala 'who captured three hundred bulls'.[52]

The motive behind cattle-lifting in South India has been explained by Subrahmaniyam with reference to the *Tolkāppiyam* which takes *ātandombal*, 'the protection of cow', in the sense of *go-grahaṇa*. Subrahmaniyam[53] thinks that cows were seized by the raiders in order to give them protection against destruc-

49 *A. R. Ind. Ep.*, 1932-33, No. D 169.
50 *Ep. Carn.*, VII. Shimoga, Nos. 61-62.
51 *A. R. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1931-32, No. B 174.
52 *Ibid.*, No. B 176.
53 *Sangam Polity*, p. 135.

tion in the war that followed. But the desire to give protection to the cows cannot account for many raids where cattle-lifting was the sole aim.

While recorded instances of cattle-lifting are numerous in South India, reference to them is hardly to be found in North Indian inscriptions. In this respect, the Lāhaḍapura inscription[54] of the time of Jayaccandra and said to have been found at Barahpur near Nandganj in the Gazipur District, U. P., is very interesting. It records that on Āśvina-vadi 12, Wednesday, Vikrama 1230, the Brāhmaṇas assembled at Lāhaḍapura and drafted the *sthiti* (a fixed decision, ordinance or decree) recorded in the inscription and that they made the *saṁvid* (a mutual agreement or contract) in question because they were what is called *vaṭu-tuṇṭ-ābhibhūta* (overwhelmed by robbers). The *sthiti* or *saṁvid* was as follows : the persons who would plunder the *grāma* or village (apparently meaning Lāhaḍapura) or would be guilty of a *droha* (mischief) of any kind [to its inhabitants] such as the seizure of the cattle (*go-mahiṣy-ādi-veṣṭana*) [of the villagers], should be killed at once and his whole property should be confiscated, while his abettor (*upaṣṭa-mbha-dāyaka*) should be expelled [from the village] and his house [in the village] should be demolished. Further, the *vimantṛ*, i. e., the adviser of the chief culprit, should be *vārita* and should be treated as an equal of a dog or an ass or a Caṇḍāla (i. e. he should be ostracised and his movements should be restricted). The god Dvādaśārka was the witness [of the *sthiti*].

Thus an organised attempt was made to stop the menace of cattle-lifting. But the amount of success attained by such efforts seems to have been far from satisfactory. Even today it continues to be a source of annoyance particularly to those living in the bordering areas of this country.

54 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 305 ff.

MISOGYNISTIC IDEAS IN ANCIENT INDIAN LITERATURE*

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The earlier Vedic works, which give women a subordinate status, do not contain any serious invective against them.[1] There are, however, expressions like 'women are, by nature, fickle' in the *Ṛgveda* ;[2] but they are merely stock expressions to be found in almost all ancient literary and religious works of the world. In the later Vedic literature,[3] women are painted in a darker colour and they gradually become objects of derision, nay even contempt. The reason is not far to seek ; the early Vedic society was mainly monogamous and women were considered as equal partners in conjugal life. But with the passage of time, polygamy became popular,[4] and this resulted in the general decline of morality both among the males as well as the females. It is not unnatural that a man, who has a number of wives, is incapable of satisfying each one of them ; it is also true that such an individual, before long, will begin to suspect his wives about whom he has a hidden sense of guilt. In the later literature of the Hindus, this sense of guilt, coupled with the inveterate superiority-complex of the sterner sex, has found indirect expressions in unsavoury passages containing misogynic ideas.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* is more or less free from misogynic out-

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* [The revised copy of the article was received in August, 1970.—Ed.

1 See *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 88.

2 IV. 33.17 ; see also A. S. Altekar, *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation*, 2nd ed., p. 319.

3 *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 135 ; see also *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIV. 1.1.31, where we are told that the women, the Śūdra and the dog are untruth, sin and darkness.

4 See Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 6th ed., p. 162.

bursts. In one place of that work, Daśaratha[5] angrily observes —*Dhig=astu yoṣito nāma śaṭhāḥ svārtha-parāyaṇāḥ* ; but in the same breath he hastens to add—*na brabīmi striyaḥ sarvā Bharatasy=eva mātaram.* Elsewhere in the same work,[6] Lakṣmaṇa denounces women as cruel and malicious by nature (*vimukta-dharmāś=capalās=tīkṣṇāḥ*), who do not hesitate to sow the seeds of dissensions among men (*bhedakarāḥ*). But we can very well understand the cause of Lakṣmaṇa's resentment as he was seriously insulted by a lady for whom he had nothing but reverential love.

The most damaging expressions regarding women are, however, to be found in the celebrated *Manusmṛti* which may be regarded as a representative work of a male-dominated, polygamous society. We have been told that as women are, by nature, fickle and treacherous, they should not be granted any independence :[7]

pitā rakṣati kaumāre bhartā rakṣati yauvane /
rakṣanti sthavire putrā na strī svātantryam=arhati //

This verse is to be found with slight modifications not only in the other Smṛti works,[8] but also in the *Mahābhārata.*[9] Manu does not stop with this ; be goes on to declare, "Women do not care for beauty, nor is their attention fixed on age ; [thinking], 'It is enough that) he is a man', they give themselves up to the handsome and to the ugly."[10] Bṛhaspati,[11] who often repeats what Manu says, asks people to keep a strict watch on women for, according to him, women are perennially fickle and inconstant. He further says that mothers-in-law and other ladies belonging to the family should secretly watch the activities of a woman.

5 II. 12.100.
6 III. 45. 30.
7 IX. 3 ; see also *SBE*, Vol. XXV, p. 330.
8 Cf. Viṣṇu, XXV. 13 ; Yājñavalkya, I. 85 ; Kapila, verse 413.
9 XIII. 20.14 ; XIII. 46.14.
10 IX. 14 : n=*aitā rūpaṁ parīkṣante n=āsāṁ vayasi saṁsthitiḥ /*
surūpaṁ vā virūpaṁ vā pumān=ity=eva bhuñjate //
11 See *SBE*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 367.

This contempt for the fair sex spread like an infectious disease to other works like the later Books of the *Mahābhārata*, the Pāli *Tripiṭaka* and Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara*. Probably the sharpest and unkindest attack on women in Indian literature occurs in the Anuśāsana-parvan, an admittedly late Book of the *Mahābhārata*. In hundreds of verses of this Book women are denounced as treacherous, lecherous, good-for-nothing beings. The poet declares that, among a thousand women or perhaps among hundreds of thousands, sometimes only one may be found that is devoted to her husband.[12] We are further informed that ladies, under the influence of desire, care not for family or father or mother or brother or husband.[13] Women are so inconstant that they can never be their own mistress. This is the opinion of Prajāpati himself.[14] Even a person of Yudhiṣṭhira's intellectual and moral eminence is made to say that women are the root of all evil.[15] The poet becomes more and more severe with every *śloka* and leaves no stone unturned to paint women as the most heinous being imaginable. There is a particular verse[16] which is so indelicate that our translator has avoided a literal translation of it.[17]

12 XIII. 19.92-93 :
sahasre kila nārīṇāṁ prāpyet=aikā kadācana |
tathā śata-sahasreṣu yadi kācit pativratā ||
For translation, see P. C. Roy, *Mahābhārata*, trans., Vol. X, p. 122.

13 XIII. 19. 93–94.

14 XIII. 20.14.

15 XIII. 38.1—*striyo hi mūlaṁ doṣāṇām.*

16 XIII. 38.26.

17 Roy, trans., Vol. XI, pp. 5–6. [Such ideas are common in our literature. The author's treatment of the subject is superficial. The idea of the *Mahābhārata* stanza (XIII. 38. 26—*dṛṣṭv=aiva puruṣaṁ hṛdyaṁ yoniḥ praklidyate striyāḥ*) is much more damaging in the *Hitopadeśa* (Jīvānanda's ed., p. 60.)—*suveśaṁ puruṣaṁ dṛṣṭvā bhrātaraṁ yadi vā sutam | yoniḥ klidyati nārīṇām . . .* || Even more scathing are the following two stanzas of the same import—*sthānaṁ n=āsti kṣaṇo n=āsti n=āsti prārthayitā naraḥ | tena Nārada nārīṇāṁ satītvam=upajāyate* || (*loc. cit.*) ; *na lajjā na vinītatvaṁ na dākṣiṇyaṁ na bhīrutā | prārthan-ābhāva ev=aikaṁ satītve kāraṇaṁ striyāḥ* || (*ibid.*, p. 61). In the same way there are also numerous cases of high praises bestowed on women in Indian literature.—Ed.]

The Buddhist Pāli texts do not depict women much differently. The Buddha himself was always against admitting women into the Order and he declared that his religion would not last long if women were admitted.[18] It was Ānanda who prevailed upon him in admitting women into his Order. The attitude of the Buddha towards women is revealed in the following conversation he had with Ānanda.[19]

Q. 'How are we to conduct ourselves, Lord, with regard to womankind ?' *A.* 'Don't see them, Ānanda.' *Q.* 'But if we should see them, what are we to do ?' *A.* 'Abstain from speech, Ānanda.' *Q.* 'But if they should speak to us, Lord, what are we to do ?' *A.* 'Keep wide awake.'

A Bhikkhu is asked not to lie down, nor take a seat in secret with a woman.[20] He should not preach the *Dhamma* in more than five or six words to a woman unless another man be present.[21] In the *Cullavagga*,[22] we are told that a Bhikkhu should not look at the face of the woman who gave him food. The *Milindapañha*[23] tells us that women reveal secrets through infirmity.

The Jains have also no special love for women. The early Jain work, *Uttarādhyāyana Sūtra*,[24] says : "Do not desire women, those female demons, on whose breasts grow two lumps of flesh, who continually change their mind, who entice man, and then make a sport of them as slaves." The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* asks the devotees not to trust women, knowing that they are full of deceit[25].

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18 See *SBE*, Vol. XX, pp. 320-26.

19 *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, V. 23 ; see also *SBE*, Vol. XI, p. 91.

20 See *SBE*, Vol. XIII, pp. 32, 42. See also Baden, *Women in Buddhism*, pp. 42-50. [Manu, II. 215, objects to sitting in a secluded place close to even one's own mother, sister or daughter.—Ed.]

21 *Ibid.*, p. 32.

22 VIII. 5.2 ; see also *SBE*, Vol. XX, p. 291.

23 IV. 1.6.

24 VIII. 18.

25 I. 4. 1. 24 ; see also *SBE*, Vol. XLV, p. 27.

The *Kathāsaritsāgara* contains quite a few stories which indirectly show the jaundiced attitude of the Hindu society towards its females. Stories have been told about faithless, hypocritical, licentious and wicked women who continually harass and instigate men. We have, for example, a typical story of one Śatrughna[26] who was deceived by his faithless spouse. There is the humorous story of a cunning, adulterous wife who was present at her own *Śrāddha* ceremony.[27] As a matter of fact, there are more cuckolds in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* than even in Boccaccio's *Decameron*. The difference between Somadeva and Boccaccio is that, while the former is constantly a moralist, the latter takes pleasure in describing the activities of an adulterous wife. Somadeva's attitude towards women may probably be summed up in his own words : "Alas ! the creator first created recklessness and then women in imitation of it ; by nature nothing is too bad for them to do...A wicked woman is like a lotus bud* with its flowers expanded and an alligator concealed in it."[28] According to Somadeva women have fickleness implanted in their nature, like the flashes of lightning.[29]

We do not quite agree with Altekar when he observes that 'they (i.e. the misogynistic passages) merely express the views of men in the throes of bitter disappointment'.[30] As a matter of fact, from the time of the composition of the later Vedic literature down to the present day, women have been very

26 Ed. Durgadas and Parab, 34. 182-186 ; see Tawney and Penzer, *The Ocean of Story*, Vol. III, p. 141.

27 61. 194-201. This story is similar to that found in Kṣemendra's *Avadānakalpalatā*, No. 43. For adultery in Hindu society, see *ERE*, Vol. I, pp. 122-37. See also Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, pp. 570 ff.

*['Pond'.—Ed.]

28 34. 177, 179 :
aho dhātrā purā sṛṣṭaṁ sāhasaṃ tad-anu striyaḥ |
*n=aitāsāṁ duṣkaraṁ kiñcin=nisargād=iha vidyate ||****
kustrī praphulla-kamalā gūḍha-nakr=eva padminī ||

29 19. 28 ; Tawney and Penzer, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 86.

30 *Op. cit.*, p. 319.

indifferently treated by men in India. Our discussion would show that the Hindus had a deep-seated prejudice against women and it would be dfficult to find a single work which is entirely free from misogynic expressions. The hypocrisy of the males has been exposed by no less a man than Varāhamihira who tells us that all the sins attributed to women by men are to be found in the latter also.[31]

31 *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, 76.4 ff. (quoted by Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 322, note).

CASTE IN EARLY BUDDHIST LITERATURE*

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Although, mention of the four castes, viz. Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra, is found in both Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist literature, these are treated differently in Hinduism and Buddhism. In pre-Buddhistic times, the Brāhmaṇas were considered to be the highest social order. Brāhmaṇical texts describe them so, because they claimed to be white in complexion and pure in origin and were the direct descendants of the god Brahman. They also claimed that they were Brahman's offspring created by him and born of his mouth. In fact, they were his heirs.

This claim of the Brāhmaṇas was not accepted by the Buddhists. In Pali literature,[1] the Khattiyas were described as the highest grade in society.[2]

From the mythological point of view it is said that the universe undergoes endless cycles of destruction and renovation. When the world was re-evolved[3] after its destruction by fire, a ruler was required in the society to maintain law and order. For his expenses, the people desired to contribute a share of their grains. They chose from among themselves a man who was healthy and had the best appearance for becoming their king.[4] He was given a share of grains for which he became

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1 *Dīghanikāya*, PTS, Vol. III, pp. 93-98 ; *Visuddhimagga*, PTS, Vol. II, p. 419,

2 *Loc. cit.*

3 *Dīghanikāya*, Vol. III, pp. 84-93 ; *Visuddhimagga*, Vol. II, pp. 417-19.

4 The king was called *Mahāsammata* because he was selected by the whole people. He was a perfect king as he delighted (*rañjeti*) people by his righteousness and equity (*Dīghanikāya*, Vol. II, p. 93.)

khettānaṁ patī (the lord of the fields) and was called Khattiya.[5]

The Khattiyas ruled over the people righteously. They punished and banished the evil-doers for putting a stop to stealing, censuring, lying, etc.

A section of the people did not like evil deeds and punishment. They wanted to put away evil and immoral practices from among them, because of which they were called Brāhmaṇa.[6] Some of them went to the forest, made leaf-huts and meditated there. As a result, they were called *Jhāyaka* Brāhmaṇa.[7] Others who were incapable of enduring meditation in the forest, went to the outskirts of villages and towns and composed books. As they did not meditate, they were called *Ajjhāyaka* Brāhmaṇa.[8]

Then certain others, who adopted married life and followed various trades, were called Vessa (tradesmen)[9]. Some of them who lived on hunting were regarded as *Sudda* (the lowest grade of people).[10]

There came a time when some Khattiyas, out of dislike for their particular vocation, became recluses. Some Brāhmaṇas did the same, likewise some Vessas and some Suddas.[11]

In the *Madhura Sutta* of the *Majjhimanikāya*,[12] the Buddha says that distinction cannot be made between man and man in respect of colour or complexion. In the process of evolution, he said, beings who were born from the Ābhassara Brahma-world and ate the tasty earth, became beautiful and, when they began to despise the ugly people who had not eaten the tasty earth,

5 *Loc. cit.*; *Visuddhimagga*, Vol. I, p. 419.

6 *Dīghanikāya*, Vol. III, p. 94.

7 *Loc. cit.*

8 *Loc. cit.*

9 *Methuna-dhammaṁ samādāya vissuta-kammante payojent=īti kho Vāseṭṭha Vessā vessā tv=eva akkharaṁ upanibbattaṁ* (*ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 95).

10 *Loc. cit.*

11 *Ibid.*, pp. 95-96.

12 PTS, Vol. II, pp. 83-90.

the said earth disappeared, and the beautiful persons, who were self-illuminated and enjoyed bliss, fell in darkness and became frightened.[13] This legend shows that man is punished if he despises another man. According to the Buddha, plants, insects, quadrupeds, serpents, fish and birds can be distinguished by their species and marks ; but distinction between man and man cannot be made in the absence of species and marks. It can be made only on the basis of wisdom and goodness.[14] Good conduct is higher than caste because people belonging to any caste can do good work. The *Vasala Sutta* of the *Suttanipāta* and the *Mātaṅga Jātaka* describe how a Caṇḍāla known as Mātaṅga attained wisdom and great fame and how a large number of Khattiyas and Brāhmaṇas served him. Brahmā Sanaṅkumāra says—

Khattiyo seṭṭho jane tasmiṁ ye gotta-paṭisāriṇe /
Vijj-ācaraṇa-sampanno so seṭṭho deva-mānuse ti //[15]

The Khattiya is the best among the people who put their trust in lineage ; but one may be best among spirits and men, if he possesses wisdom and virtue.

In the *Vāseṭṭhasutta* of the *Majjhimanikāya*, the Buddha says that birth cannot make one a Brāhmaṇa, that good deeds and moral behaviour make a man a Brāhmaṇa, and that the true Brāhmaṇa is an Arahat. Thus Pali literature explains Brāhmaṇa as the best man in the society, though it is also stated that the caste Brāhmaṇa was next to the Khattiya. As regards the origin of the Brāhmaṇa from the creator god Brahman, Buddhist mythology does not recognise the supremacy of Brahman as the creator-god. It speaks of the existence of twenty classes of Brahmā who practice *jhāna* or meditation ; but they are inferior to the Arahats, the Paccekabuddhas and

13 See *Aggañña Sutta* in the *Dīghanikāya*, Vol. III ; *Visuddhimagga*, Vol. II, p. 418.

14 *Majjhimanikāya*, Vol. II, pp. 196ff. ; *Suttanipāta*, pp. 15ff., 21ff. ; *Brāhmaṇavagga* in the *Dhammapada*.

15 *Dīghanikāya*, Vol. III, p. 97 ; also Vol. I, p. 122, and *Saṁyuttanikāya*, Vol. I, p. 153, and Vol. II, p. 284.

Buddhas. According to the Buddha, as mentioned above, the Brāhmaṇahood is to be earned by meritorious deeds and is not achieved by birth. On this point, the Brāhmaṇas of Pali literature are different from that of Brāhmaṇical literature. But the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*[16] also says that good conduct makes a man the best Brāhmaṇa even though he is of a low caste or an outcaste. So it may be that the Buddha borrowed the said approach from the *Upaniṣad*.[17]

16 See Ch. IV, verse 4.

17 [Many of the Buddhist and Upaniṣadic conceptions were based on Nonaryan philosophical and socio-religions ideas.– Ed.]

THE BRĀHMAṆA IN PALI LITERATURE*

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In one of the oldest Pali texts entitled *Suttanipāta,*[1] the ideal Brāhmaṇas are described as follows. The ancient sages (*isayo*) were ascetics (*tapassino*) and lived in self-control avoiding the five pleasures of sense. Their wealth consisted not of cattle, gold or grains, but of learning and purity. They lived on food left at the door by the faithful and used the beds and clothes offered to them reverentially. They were never harmed nor dominated, protected as they were by the *dhamma.* They spent 48 years of their lives as Brahmacārin in quest of knowledge and good conduct. They held austerities, rectitude, tenderness, love and forbearance in high esteem,[2] performed sacrifices with rice, beds, clothes, ghee or oil (which they could collect by begging) and never killed animals in sacrifices.

It is stated in the *Subhasutta*[3] that the Brāhmaṇas are expected to observe the five *dhammas*, viz., *saccaṁ* (truthfulness), *tapaṁ* (austerity), *brahmacariyaṁ* (pure moral life), *ajjhenaṁ* (study) and *cāgaṁ* (gifts). In the *Sundarikabhāradvāja Sutta,*[4] there is a reference to Brāhmaṇas learning the *sāvittī* (*sāvitrī*) consisting of three *pādas* and twentyfour *akṣaras.*

Incidentally the names of the Ṛṣis or hymn-composers are referred to as Aṭṭhaka, Vāmaka, Vāmadeva, Vessāmitta, Jama-

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1 *Brāhmaṇadhammika Sutta,* pp. 50-55: *isayo pubbakā āsuṁ saññatattā tapassino/ pañca kāma-guṇe hitvā attadattham acārisuṁ.//*

2 *Suttanipāta,* PTS ed., pp. 50-51: *aṭṭhacattārisaṁ vassāni komārabrahmacariyaṁ cariṁsu te / vijjācaraṇapariyiṭṭhiṁ acaruṃ brāhmaṇā pure //*

3 *Majjhimanikāya,* PTS ed., Vol. II, p. 199.

4 *Suttanipāta,* p. 79.

taggi, Aṅgirasa, Bharadvāja, Vāseṭṭha, Kassapa and Bhagu.[5] It is then pointed out that the Brāhmaṇas of the Buddha's time were merely repeaters of the hymns composed by these ancient sages.

In the early Ṛgvedic days, according to the *Suttanipāta*,[6] the objects of offering consisted of rice, ghee, etc. The ideal ancient Brāhmaṇas, envisaged in the *Brāhmaṇadhammika Sutta*, were very likely the ancient seers, to whom the authorship of the Ṛgvedic hymns is attributed.

In course of time, however, they began to covet the king's riches and splendour and objects of pleasure. With an eye to these gains they approached king Okkāka (Ikṣvāku), persuaded him to celebrate the Aśvamedha, Puruṣamedha, Samyāprāsa and Vājapeya.[7] The Pali texts abound in references to such animal sacrifices, against which the Buddha raised his voice of protest. The Buddha criticised all these practices as inefficacious and meaningless.

According to the *Assalāyana Sutta*,[8] the Brāhmaṇa Assalāyana tells the Buddha that the Brāhmaṇas alone are the highest caste, every other community is lower ; the Brāhmaṇas alone are the white caste, every other caste is black ; the Brāhmaṇas only are the sons of the God, produced out of the mouth of Brahman, begotten by Brahman, heir of Brahman.'

Thereupon the Buddha put to Assalāyana a series of questions, which the latter had to answer in the affirmative, admitting thereby that the claims of the Brāhmaṇas were baseless.

In the *Brāhmaṇavagga* of the *Dhammapada* appears the following stanza :

na c=ahaṁ brāhmaṇaṁ brūmi yonijaṁ matti-saṁbhavam /
bhovādī nāma so hoti sa ce hoti sakiṁcano //
akiṁcanam=anādānaṁ tam=ahaṁ brūmi brāhmaṇam //

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5 *Dīgha Nikāya*, PTS ed., Vol. I, p. 104 ; *Majjhima Nikāya*, Vol. II, p. 200.

6 See pp. 50-51.

7 *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, PTS ed., Vol. I, p. 76.

8 *Majjhima Nikāya*, Vol. II, p. 152.

'I do not call him a Brāhmaṇa because of his origin or of his mother. If he be with worldly objects, he is called *bhovādī*. I call him a Brāhmaṇa who is free from worldly objects and free from attachment.'

In the *Brāhmaṇadhammika Sutta* of the *Suttanipāta* also appears the following verse in connection with the characteristics of a true Brāhmaṇa.

Na jaṭāhi na gottena na jaccā hoti Brāhmaṇo|
yamhi saccaṁ ca dhammo ca so sukhī so ca Brāhmaṇo||

'Not by matted hair, not by lineage, not by caste does one become a Brāhmaṇa. He is a Brāhmaṇa in whom there are truth and righteousness. He is blessed.'

That true Brāhmaṇahood does not depend on birth, but on good conduct is beautifully illustrated in the *Vāseṭṭha Sutta*[9] in 63 verses with the refrain 'Him do I call a true Brāhmaṇa'.

Yo hi koci manussesu gorakkhaṁ upajīvati |
evaṁ Vāseṭṭha jānāti kassako so na Brāhmaṇa ||

'For whoever amongst men lives by cow-keeping, know this, O Vāseṭṭha, that he is a husbandman, not a Brāhmaṇa', etc.[10]

'By penance, by a religious life, by self-restraint and by temperance, one becomes a Brāhmaṇa ; such a one [they call] the best Brāhmaṇa.'[11]

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9 *Suttanipāta*, pp. 118-23.

10 *SBE*, Vol. X, p. 112.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 117 : *tapena brahmacariyena saṃyamena damena ca | etena Brāhmaṇo hoti etaṁ brāhmaṇam=uttamaṃ ||*

VI

SOME ASPECTS OF SOCIAL LIFE IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA[1]

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The *Mahābhārata* presents a unique phenomenon in the literary history of the world. It is the biggest single literary work known to man, being about eight times the size of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* put together. Besides its size, it is unique regarding its contents which are encyclopaedic in character. There is no subject under the sun to which we do not get reference in the *Mahābhārata*. It is a veritable encyclopaedia of Indian culture, and its claim : *yad=ih=āsti tad=anyatra yan=n=eh=āsti na tat kvacit*[2] (whatever is included here may be found elsewhere ; but what is not to be found here, cannot be got anywhere else) is perfectly justified. It is a thesaurus of ancient myths, tales and legends, of philosophy, religion, social ideas, manners and customs, of social and political institutions, of old beliefs and traditions, etc.

In portraying the social conditions in the *Mahābhārata*, it is to be borne in mind that the period covered by the epic runs from the Bhārata war to the composition of the *Mahābhārata*. There are differences of opinion among competent scholars as to the date of the Bhārata war and that of the composition of the epic ; the former has been taken variously between 3100 B. C. and 1000 B. C., while the latter between the sixth century B. C. and the second century A. D. Thus we get a picture of the Indian society, at a very modest estimate for about 1200 years—from 1000 B.C. to the second century A.D.*

1 All references are to the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata*.

2 I. 56. 33.

* [Such views are not generally shared by scholars. See *The Bhārata War and Purāṇic Genealogies*, ed. Ṣircar, 1969.—Ed.]

In picking up our data, we have clearly to distinguish between the society at the period of the Bhārata war and that of the composition of the epic. Roughly speaking, the former represents the later Vedic age, while the latter, the age of the early Smṛtis.

In connection with the social life in the *Mahābhārata,* an attempt is made here to focus attention on its special features. There is an apparent contradiction regarding the society portrayed in different parts of the *Mahābhārata*—even in the didactic and ethical portions in the Śānti and Anuśāsana Parvans. The contradiction is resolved when one bears in mind the fact that different parts of the epic relate to different periods. The vicissitudes through which the different aspects of social life passed during this long period show that it was, more or less, a period of progressive deterioration.

Before turning to the caste system, marriage and position of women, education and other aspects of social life, let us turn to some peculiar customs of antiquity recorded in the *Mahābhārata.*

Among the peculiar social customs of the period of the Bhārata war or of the remote past depicted in the epic, special mention may be made of promiscuity, polyandry, and *niyoga* or levirate. Though some passages in the epic suggest the existence of promiscuity at an early period,[3] it is very difficult to say whether it actually existed in some sections of the society or whether it is a mere possibility intellectually conceived by the poet. The tradition of polyandry, however, appears to have been so firmly rooted, at least in a section of the society, that the poet could not ignore it. The marriage of Draupadī was an essential part of the story, and the poet tries to justify it in several ways. His attempts to explain it away show that, though in vogue in ancient times, polyandry had fallen into disuse during the period of the epic. References in Dharmaśāstra works show knowledge of the practice of polyandry. It is

3 I. 113.4-7 ; II. 28.23-24.

interesting to observe that the practice of several brothers marrying one female is still prevalent to some extent in Kashmir, Tibet and the Nilgiris.[4] The custom of *niyoga* whereby a childless widow approached her deceased husband's brother for issue appears to have been fairly common in ancient India, as elsewhere in the ancient world. The *Mahābhārata* is replete with instances ; but it appears that the system was gradually passing into desuetude, and several restrictions were being placed for its operation. Kuntī points out that the custom permitted only three sons by *niyoga*.[5]

In the early stage, a rationalistic view of caste was taken. It was believed that not birth alone, but character and actions make a Brāhmaṇa. If truthfulness, liberality, forgiveness, good conduct, equality of feelings towards all, austere life and compassion were found in a Śūdra, that Śūdra was taken as not a Śūdra but a Brāhmaṇa, and a Brāhmaṇa wanting in these characteristic marks was to be taken as a Śūdra.[6] It is further stated that, as it is impossible to distinguish castes on account of the great intermixture of races, all sorts of men begetting offspring on women belonging to all castes indiscriminately, wise men believe that character is the chief thing ; unless there is suitable character, caste is useless.[7] All are similar so far as caste is concerned.[8] It is further stated that not birth alone but actions make a Brāhmaṇa. Lord Kṛṣṇa has declared that he created the four castes having regard to the distribution of qualities and actions.[9]

Further, change of caste was possible in the initial stage. The *Mahābhārata* furnishes instances of several Kṣatriyas such as Vītahavya, Ārṣṭiṣeṇa, Sindhudvīpa, Devāpi and Viśvāmitra

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4 Cf. Altekar, *Position of Women*, etc. (Banaras, 1956), p. 114 ; Shafer, *Ethnography of Ancient India* (Wiesbaden, 1954), p. 30, note 1.

5 I. 114.65.

6 III. 177.16-24 ; 178.33 ; XII. 182.8.

7 III. 177.25-28.

8 XII. 108.30.

9 VI. 26.13 (*Bhagavadgītā*, IV.13).

becoming Brāhmaṇas.[10] Similarly, Brāhmaṇas like Paraśurāma, Droṇa, Kṛpa, etc., took to arms. The doctrine of *jāty-utkarṣa* (rise in status with reference to caste) has been enunciated by stating that a Śūdra practising virtues becomes gradually a Vaiśya and a Kṣatriya, and he who is always straightforward becomes a Brāhmaṇa.[11]

All the four castes were to listen to the recitation of the Vedas.[12] Later on the Śūdras were denied this privilege.

Birth became of prime importance so far as caste was concerned as time went on. Everyone born of Brāhmaṇa parentage, whether learned or not, was to be regarded as worthy of respect.[13] No change of caste was, therefore, possible. Regulations with regard to occupations of different castes were not strictly followed, and different castes could follow any vocation, except those reserved for the Brāhmaṇas, with impunity.

In the *Mahābhārata*, we witness the first germs of the tendency whereby *sannyāsa* was reserved only for the three higher castes and later for the Brāhmaṇas alone. Four kinds of ascetic, viz. *Kuṭīcaka*, *Bahūdaka*, *Haṁsa* and *Paramahaṁsa*, are mentioned, of which each succeeding one was superior to the one preceding.[14] The *Mahābhārata* propounds conflicting views about the eligibility of a Śūdra to embrace *sannyāsa*.[15]

Though the usual eight forms of marriage are enumerated, the *Mahābhārata* speaks of the Brāhma, Kṣātra, Gāndharva, Āsura and Rākṣasa as being current, the last two, however, being regarded as sinful.[16] The Brāhma perhaps included the Daiva and Ārṣa of the Sūtra times. In the Kṣātra, which was prescribed for both the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas, it appears, the bride

10 XIII. 31; IX. 38.31-32.

11 III. 203. 11-12; XIII. 29.5-13.

12 XII. 314.45-46.

13 XIII. 136.20.

14 XIII. 129.29.

15 XII. 63.12-14; XV. 33.32.

16 I. 67.8-12.

was offered to one who successfully accomplished certain feats of skill and valour prescribed by the father of the bride.* The marriages of Sītā and Draupadī are instances of this type, wrongly called *Svayaṁvara*, where the selection of the bridegroom rested, not with the bride, but on the ability of the suitor to satisfy the specific condition laid down.

Opinion was divided regarding the age of marriage of girls. In an interpolated passage, it is stated that some held that the girl should not be too young, while others contended that she should not have dreamt of sexual love.[17] From actual instances of the epic heroines, it is reasonable to conclude that the brides, at least among the Kṣatriyas, were well-developed and grown-up at the time of marriage. The *nagnikā* rule was applicable in the case of the Brāhmaṇas, and gradually it was rigidly enforced in the case of all castes. Engagements brought about by the bride and bridegroom were considered more binding and sacred than those arranged by the elders.[18]

Though marriages in the same caste were praised, there were no restrictions with regard to intercaste marriages in the *anuloma* order or hypergamy, i.e. where a male of the higher caste married a female of the lower one. "The son born of a Brāhmaṇa from wives belonging to the three castes is a Brāhmaṇa. There are only four castes ; the fifth does not exist."[19] This shows the earliest stage when the son of a Vaiśya wife born to a Brāhmaṇa was taken to be a Brāhmaṇa, along with those born to the wives of the Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya. The next stage is represented in the statement that "the Brāhmaṇa can have four wives ; but in the two from the beginning (i. e.

* [It is interesting to note that the Kṣātra form of marriage as mentioned in the *Vāsiṣṭha Dharmasūtra*, I. 28-29 (*Brāhma, Daiva, Ārṣa, Gāndharva, Kṣātra=Rākṣasa* and *Mānuṣa=Āsura*), has been differently interpreted. See Kane, *Hist. Dharm.*, Vol. III, p. 516.—Ed.]

17 XIII. 305*.1-4.

18 XIII. 44.25.

19 XIII. 47.17-18.

Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya) is he himself born, while in the two others (i. e. Vaiśya and Śūdra) less pure sons are born in the mother's caste."[20] Here the sons of a Brāhmaṇa from the Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya wives alone are taken to be Brāhmaṇa while those from the Vaiśya and Śūdra wives belonged to the caste of their mother. Later, the sons born from a Śūdra wife were regarded as worse than a corpse and were called Pāraśava.[21] The sons of intercaste marriages thus gradually came to be looked down upon and were assigned different names signifying mixed castes.

The above were *anuloma* marriages, or hypergamy. *Pratiloma* marriages, i.e. where a female of the higher caste married a male of the lower one, have been condemned from the very start.

As regards the shares of the sons of wives of different castes born to a Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra, the decision, after a prolonged discussion, is that a Brāhmaṇa should divide his property into ten shares, out of which the son of a Brāhmaṇa wife will have four shares, and those of the Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra wives will receive respectively three, two and one shares. In the case of a Kṣatriya, the property was to be divided into eight shares, the sons of the Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra wives receiving respectively four, three and one shares. A Vaiśya's property was to be divided into five shares, the son of the Vaiśya wife getting four shares, while that of a Śūdra wife got only one share.[22]

Despite some passages in disparagement of women in general, one of the special features of the epic may be said to be its liberal attitude towards women who were regarded as objects of great veneration, symbol of supreme auspiciousness, virtue incarnate, light of the family, beauty and wealth of the home, and object of special care and attention. They were accorded a place of honour, enjoyed a considerable

20 XIII. 48.4.

21 XIII. 48.5.

22 XIII. 47.12-16, 48-50, 53-54.

amount of freedom, and mixed freely at socio-religious gatherings. No special restrictions or disabilities were attached to them only on account of their sex. They enjoyed equal rights with men in all spheres, and wielded a great deal of influence in social and political matters. In this context, we may refer to Bhīṣma's advice to Yudhiṣṭhira to sanction the coronation of the daughters of those kings who had died in the war without leaving male issues.[23]

The birth of a female child was not always looked upon as a source of misery; but the goddess of fortune was held to reside in an unmarried daughter. There were no child marriages in that period. The epic heroines received liberal education, and had some voice in the choice of their spouses. High ideals of conjugal life were placed before the society, and the wife was spoken of as the best friend of man.[24] It may be observed that the ideals of a good wife, which Draupadī is stated to have expounded to Satyabhāmā,[25] if sincerely followed, are sure to bring peace and happiness to the whole family.

It is said that, formerly in the golden age, there were no widows in the Kuru land, and it has been implied therefrom that during the epic period women did not die with their husband.[26] Remarriages of widows were prohibited, and those marrying widows were condemned.[27] It is said that all men run after a woman whose husband is dead just as birds run after food.[28] A virgin widow, however, was allowed to remarry, and her sons were entitled to offer oblations both to gods and

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23 XII. 34.33.

24 I. 68.40. [Cf., however, seclusion of women in the royal palace, referred to below. Cf. XII, 326.31ff. Note also the reference to *asūryampaśyāni mukhāni* in the *Mahābhāṣya* (on 1.1.43; 2.1.1) and also the prescriptions of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, III. 3-4.—Ed.]

25 III. 222-44.

26 I. 102.10, and Sidhanta, *Heroic Age of India* (London, 1929), pp. 165–66.

27 VII. 51.27; IX. 30.42.

28 I. 146.12.

manes.[29] That the widows were treated fairly would appear from the fact that the widowed daughters-in-law of Dhṛtarāṣṭra were described as having the hair on the head decently arranged.[30]

The discouragement of the remarriage of widows, curiously enough, resulted in the growth of the custom of *Satī*. In the *Mahābhārata*, with the exception of Mādrī, four wives of Vasudeva and five wives of Kṛṣṇa,[31] there are no instances of *Satī*. Satyabhāmā is said to have retired to forest for penance.[32] After the Bhārata war, not a single widow is said to have burnt herself on the funeral pyre of her husband. The widowed daughters-in-law of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, after obtaining his permission, are stated to have plunged into the Bhāgīrathī for attaining the regions acquired by their husbands.[33] The *Mahābhārata* is unaware of any of the Yādava widows having committed *Satī*, whereas the later *Padma Purāṇa* represents all of them as burning themselves, which indicates that by the time the *Padma Purāṇa* received its present shape, the custom of *Satī* was coming into vogue.[34] That widows of soldiers dying in war were provided for by the king contemplates no instance of *Satī*.[35]

Some late passages in the epic, which of course appear in in the Critical Edition,[36] suggest that some kind of *purdah* was observed in a few royal families, which was dispensed with on certain specified occasions. The data in the epic, which represents the heroines as moving freely in public, go against *purdah*, which was introduced later into India among the Kṣatriyas due to foreign influence.

For education, the Gurukula system appears to have been

29 XIII, App. I, No. 7A, 11.63-65 (Kumbhakonam ed., XIII, 55.7).

30 XV. 27.16.

31 I. 116.29; XVI. 8.18, 71.

32 XVI. 8.72.

33 XV. 41. 17-19.

34 Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

35 *Mbh.*, II. 5.44.

36 Cf. XV. 21.13; IX. 28.71; XI. 9.9.

in vogue. The *Mahābhārata* speaks of numerous hermitages (*āśrama*), famous among them being the Naimiṣa under *Kulapati* Śaunaka, and one of Kaṇva on the Mālinī. Pupils from distant parts of the country gathered for instructions at these hermitages. The *Mahābhārata* is stated to have described a full-fledged *āśrama* 'as consisting of several departments which are enumerated as follows : (1) *agni-sthāna,* the common hall for prayer and worship of Agni ; (2) *Brahma-sthāna,* college of divinity, the department of Vedic study ; (3) *Viṣṇu-sthāna,* taken to mean the department for the study of *Rāja-nīti, Artha-nīti* and *Vārttā* ; (4) *Mahendra-sthāna,* the Military School ; (5) *Vivasvat-sthāna,* department of astronomy ; (6) *Soma-sthāna,* department of botany ; (7) *Garuḍa-sthāna,* dealing with transport and conveyances ; and (8) *Kārttikeya-sthāna,* for study of military organization, methods for forming patrols, battalions, and armies.'[37] There are several references which also indicate that in addition to academic subjects and those already mentioned, instruction was given in archery, medicine, astrology, engineering, agriculture, arts and crafts, etc. Due attention was paid to the education of women who were able to reach high academic proficiency. They were taught such arts as dancing, singing and instrumental music.

We do not get details about urban life ; but some interesting features about one aspect of rural life are supplied by the description of cowherds. Duryodhana went to review his herd of cattle in Dvaitavana, marked them by signs and numbers, particularly marking 'three-year-old' bulls. The occasion was celebrated by sports, singing and dance by the cowherds and their women. Then he hunted wild animals.[38] Cattle-lifting seems to have been fairly common in the epic. Cowboys and herdsmen were paid in kind for tending the cattle in

37 Mookerji, in *The Age of Imperial Unity* (Bombay, 1951), p. 589; *Ancient Indian Education* (London, 1947), p. 333. [The word *sthāna* seems to mean 'shrine' in these cases.—Ed.]

38 Cf. III. 229.1-13.

proportion to the number tended by each.[39] The breeding and tending of cattle had developed almost into a science in the days of the *Mahābhārata*.

From the profuse references to meat-eating including those to Yudhiṣṭhira feeding Brāhmaṇas with various delicacies prepared, among other things, from the flesh of bear and deer, and to Dhṛtarāṣṭra being treated to a variety of meat and drinks, it would appear that meat-eating was current among all classes during the period of the Bhārata war. At the beginning, as we also know from the Vedic literature, cows and bulls were freely sacrificed and beef was eaten. Later on, however, owing to the influence of *ahiṁsā* as preached by Buddhism, Jainism and Bhāgavatism, flesh-eating was prohibited for the Brāhmaṇas during the period of the *Mahābhārata* and thereafter. Animal sacrifice was taboo. As a result of further reaction, the *via media* was found that the killing of animals in a sacrifice was no killing.[40] Towards the end of the epic period, the killing of a bovine animal or eating its flesh was regarded as equal to *Brahmahatyā*. An interesting particular supplied by the epic is that the food of the rich consisted of flesh, that of the middle class of milk and its products, and that of the poor of salt (or oil preparations).[41] The Kṣatriyas, including their womenfolk, were noted for their addiction to liquor during the epic period. But the Brāhmaṇas were strictly forbidden to drink liquor, and later on, drinking was regarded as one of the five principal sins.

Cremation seems to have been the usual method of disposal of the dead in the epic. It appears, however, that the bodies of those dead on the battlefield were not duly disposed of, but were left there uncared for at the mercy of vultures and jackals. The death of a person in war, says the *Mahābhārata*, is not to be mourned, nor are any funeral obla-

39 XII. 60.24-25.

40 XIV. 94.14-16, 21 ; 95.31.

41 V. 34.47.

tions to be offered to him, nor is a purificatory bath to be taken on his account. He is glorified in the heavens.[42]

There is frequent mention of Dāsas and Dāsīs, male and female slaves, in the *Mahābhārata.* In addition to prisoners of war, those who staked their freedom in the game of dice were treated as Dāsas if they lost the game. As he had no money or other possessions, the slave paid his tax in manual labour. The ethical portions of the epic allow a slave to study, and state that he may get a reward for practising religious austerities. A learned slave is depicted as giving moral instruction.

42 XII.99.43-44.

VII

MATRILINEAL INHERITANCE IN INDIA*

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In the *Mahābhārata*,[1] it is stated that among the Āraṭṭas and Bāhīkas, and also among a few other peoples, property was transmitted from mother's brother to sister's son. This has been explained as follows. "In former days, a chaste woman was abducted by robbers hailing from Āraṭṭa. Sinfully was she violated by them; upon which she cursed them, saying, 'Since you have violated a helpless girl who is not without a husband, therefore the women of your families shall all become unchaste. Ye lowest of men, never shall ye escape from the consequences of this dreadful sin.' It is for this, O Śalya, that the sisters' sons of the Āraṭṭas, and not their own sons, become their heirs."[2] Evidently, the writers of the *Mahābhārata* had their own values of morality and they were accustomed only to patrilineal systems. Saturated as their general outlook was by all these, they had to invent such a story to rationalise a system with which they were not acquainted.

Even in countries where such forms of inheritance prevail, people did not care to understand why their systems were different from those of their patrilineal neighbours. In different parts of Southern India, the avunculocal inheritance is known as *aliya-santāna* or *marumakkathāyam.* A story, found in local tradition, attributes the origin of this system to a king named Bhūtal Pāṇḍya who was the nephew of a great king called Deva Pāṇḍya. The latter wanted to launch his newly

* [The revised copy of the paper was received in August, 1970.—Ed.]

1 VIII. 45.13.16.

2 P. C. Ray's trans.

constructed ships with valuable cargo, when Kuṇḍodara, king of the demons, demanded a human sacrifice. Deva Pāṇḍya asked his wife's permission to offer one of his sons; but she refused, while his sister Satyavatī offered her son Jaya or Bhūtal Pāṇḍya for this purpose. Kuṇḍodara was, however, pleased with Bhūtal Pāṇḍya, discovering in the child signs of future greatness, and asked king Deva Pāṇḍya to disinherit his sons from the kingdom and bestow all on his sister's son Bhūtal Pāṇḍya. The latter inherited the kingdom of his maternal uncle, and it was thus that the *aliya-santāna* law was established.[3] The story, as it appears, was evidently invented to give an oversimplified explanation to the *aliya-santāna* or *marumakkathāyam* system.

The custom of the sister's son's inheriting the property of his maternal uncle is, as it was among the Āraṭṭas and Bāhīkas, widespread. In the Americas, among the Red Indians, the relationship of maternal uncle is more important than any other owing to the authority with which he is invested over his nephews and nieces, and this is also reported from many African and Melanesian tribes.[4] The term avunculate involves, typically on the part of the maternal uncle, a measure of authority over his nephews, coupled with specific responsibilities in their upbringing, initiation and marriage. The sister's son, in turn, often enjoys special rights so far as the property of his maternal uncle is concerned, and frequently takes precedence over the latter's own children in regard to inheritance. In many matrilineal societies, the nephew leaves his own paternal home in boyhood or adolescence and goes on to live with or near his maternal uncle in an arrangement known as avunculocal residence. Not infrequently the nephew has a preferential right or obligation to marry a daughter of his maternal uncle. All or some of the social characteristics, enumerated above, are found among the Pulayan or Cheruman, Parayan

3 Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. I, p. 16.

4 Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity*, p. 158; Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 34; Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, Vol. I, pp. 277–90.

or Mala, Kadir, Bhondari, Bonthuk, Dandasi, Jalari, Maravan, Mukadora, Toreya, Tottiyan, Takkala, Uppara, Balija Banajiga, Gangadikara Okkalu, Ganiga, Golla, Halikar Okkaliga, Holeya, Idiga, Kilekayata, Komati, Koracha, Kumbara, Kuruba, Madiga, Mondaru, Sadaru, Tigara and other tribes and castes of Southern India.[5] In Madhya Pradesh, similar social phenomena occur among the Bhunjia, Chamar, Gowari, Gond, Kamar, Mali, etc.,[6] while the sister's son is a very important person among the Maithila and Sauvīra Brāhmaṇas as well as among the Mungirian Tantis. Among the Khasis, the maternal uncle is a very important person, while among the Garos, the matrilineal clan of the husband delegates a *nokrom*, the husband's nephew, to supervise his maternal uncle's position among the kinsmen of his wife.

The Nayar joint family, or *tarwad*, consists of a woman and her sons and daughters, the children of those daughters and so on. The sons' children do not belong to that *tarwad*, but are affiliated to the *tarwads* of their wives. The property of a *tarwad* is practically impartible, and it is looked after by the *Karnavan* who is the eldest male member, evidently of the female line. When a *tarawad* grows unusually big, it often splits into smaller family units called *tavazhis*. This breakup takes place with the consent of the members of the *tarwad*. The *tavazhi*, in the same way, is constituted by a female, her children and all her descendants in the female line. The property of the *tarwad* is divided equally among all the *tavazhis* into which it is split up. All members of a *tavazhi* retain their *tarwad* names and observe the rules of impurity on the death of any member of the *tarwad*. The strength of this matrilineal joint family is mainly due to the typical form of matrilocal marriage current among them. The Nayar

5 Thurston, *op. cit.*, Vols. I-VII, *passim*; Nanjundayya and Iyer, *Mysore Tribes and Castes*, Vols. I-IV, *passim*; Ehrenfels, *Mother-right in India*, pp. 18ff.

6 Russell and Hiralal, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, Vol. II, pp. 326ff.; Vol. III, pp. 71-75, 162, 326; Vol. IV, pp. 167, 421.

women are entitled to keep more than one husband, and this is possible only in a matrilocal residence where husbands are occasional visitors only. Their marriage does not always turn out to be permanent, because the *sambandham*, the term by which the Nayar marriage is generally known, in itself, though recognised as legal, has not the binding effect of proper marriage. It is dissoluble at will, either of the partners having the right of breaking off the relation at any moment. This instability is due to the fact that the *sambandham* implies no legal obligation of maintenance to the divorced wife. Thus the children born of *sambandham* belong to their mother's *tarwad* and inherit from the mother. The husband is a visitor to his wife's place and the children have no ties with him.[7]

Among the Garos, who have matriliny and matrilocal residence, property passes through the female. The parents appoint one of their daughters as heir (*nokna*). Other daughters have no claim on property, but are allowed to live in the family house until marriage, If there are no daughters to inherit the property, the woman adopts one of the daughters of her sister to make her the heir of the property. Although the owner of property is thus a female, her husband has a significant position in its management. When the *nokna* becomes a widow, her daughter becomes the *nokna* ; but the husband of the latter cannot get control of the property unless he marries his mother-in-law. The *nokna* is bound to marry her father's sister's son, and if such a person is not found, she must marry any male of her father's sister's family. If it so happens that such a man is also wanting, she is to marry any male of her father's sister's *machong* (extended family).[8]

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7 Mayne, *A Treatise on Hindu Law and Usage*, pp. 969, 976ff. ; Panikkar, *Some Aspects of Nayar Life*, pp. 264-71 ; Kapadia, *Marriage and Family in India*, pp. 336ff.

8 Playfair, *The Garos*, pp. 68ff. ; Bose, *The Garo Law of Inheritance* (Anthropological Papers, C. U., N. S., No. 5), pp. 86ff. ; Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 63-64 ; Gait, *Census Report : Assam* (1891), Vol. I, p. 229.

Among the Khasis of Assam, who have been able to retain a social organisation of the matriarchal pattern, the daughters are entitled to inherit the property which belongs to the mother. It is here that we find direct matrilineal inheritance, from mother to daughter. The youngest daughter generally gets the lion's share. If the youngest daughter dies, or in the event of her changing the religion or committing an act of taboo, she is succeeded by the next youngest daughter. Should such direct succession fail, the family tree has to be looked up for the nearest branch, the youngest female of which may succeed. As descent is matrilineal, only the children of the females can become members of the family. All property which has been acquired by a man before his marriage is considered to belong to his mother, while that acquired after his marriage belongs to his wife. The youngest daughter, *Ka Khadduh*, is in charge of the family religion. She is the custodian of the property. The Khasi family is not a big *tarwad* as is the Nayar's, but a small joint family of three or four generations. The income from land belongs to the *Kur* (clan) which is divided among the constituent *lings* (families) in which the mother is the head and the only bond of union. Khasi marriage, though they are mainly monogamous, is matrilocal, and like the Nayars, the father has no kinship with his children who belong to their mother's clan. What he earns goes to his own matrilineal stock, and at his death his bones are deposited in the cromlech of his mother's kin. The Synteng and Lynngam laws of inheritance are the same as those of the Khasis.[9]

So we find that matrilineal inheritance among the Khasis is direct, from mother to daughter, as among the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Arizona, while among the Nayars of Kerala and some other peoples of Southern India, the women's function and responsibility are deputed to a man, the *Karnavan*, the mother's brother, as among the Iroquois. Among the Garos

9 Gurdon, *The Khasis*, pp. 62-85 : Chattopadhyay, *Khasi Kinship and Social Organisation* (Anthropological Papers, C. U., N. S., No. 6).

of Assam, the woman owns the property ; but it is controlled by her husband. Matrilineal inheritance, direct or avunculocal, are also found among the Ambattan, Ampalavasi, Chakkyar, Kavati, Krishnavakkar, Kuduni, Kurava, Kurukkal, Malayarayan, Maravan, Malasar, Malayali, Pulayan, Pannan, Parayan, Pattaria, Pushpakan, Samantan, Ulladon, Variyar, Villa and Vishavan of the Malabar region[10] and among the Agasa, Bedar, Bestha, Gudigara, Helava, Holeya, Jain, Kumbara, Madiga, Nattuvan and Vannan of Mysore.[11] Among other tribes and castes of Southern India following matrilineal inheritance, reference may be made to the Gauda, Kallan, Kelasi, Koraga, Kottai Vellala, Kannuvan, Mali, Mannan, Mappila, Tiyan, Wynnad, Bant, Billava, Chaliyan, Chetti, Gurukkal, Kudan, Kudiya, Mukkuvan, Nangudi Vellala, Pallan, Tirumalpad, Unni, Velutedan and others.[12] Survivals of matrilineal inheritance are also found among the Beria, Halaba, Kaikari, Kawar, Kurmi, Mang, Rajjhar, etc., of Madhya Pradesh.[13] The Oraon and Santal groups allow their son-in-law to inherit the father-in-law's property. On such occasions, the first son of the daughter and the son-in-law is named after the maternal grandfather. Among the Mundas, permanent matrilocal marriage is common, and the son-in-law, becoming a member of the family, succeeds to a portion of his father-in-law's inheritance.

Matrilneal inheritance and its concomitant forms are not and cannot be 'things in themselves'. The growth of any social system or institution depends upon inevitable specific conditions. The earlier Evolutionists offered some explanation. They regarded matrilineal inheritance and descent, matrilocal

10 Pillai, *Census Report* : *Travancore*, 1931, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 371–402 ; Iyer, *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol. I, pp. 28-29, 77, 98.

11 Nanjundayya and Iyer, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 2-3, 7, 108 ; Vol. III, pp. 147, 149, 315, 332, 433 ; Vol. IV, pp. 10, 138, 422.

12 Thurston, *op. cit.*, Vols. II-VII, *passim.*

13 Russell, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 138, 224 ; Vol. III, pp. 193, 299, 394 ; Vol. IV, pp. 65, 187, 408.

marriage and residence, avunculate, etc., as the natural survivals of mother-right. Anthropologists, committed to the principles of Marxism, also subscribe to the same view with the difference that they interpret evolution as a relative, instead of an absolutistic, concept. The Functionalist School, however, rejects this approach and insists on specialised analysis and comparison of existing systems and institutions like matriliny, matrilocal marriage, etc., without bothering whether these may be regarded as the vestiges of the earlier presence of mother-right. Speculations about the early origins of human institutions which formerly provided the main drive for the beginning of anthropology are now abandoned by the Functionalists.

Ehrenfels clearly observed that mother-right elements in India were stronger, both in extent and in degree, than those in any part of the world. His hypothesis about India being the original home and migration-centre of mother-right may not be correct; but the fact remains that the extensive survivals of mother-right in India, of which copious examples are furnished by him,[14] require some explanation. More important than all these are his observations on the violent overthrow of the ancient mother-right in India, which took place in an abrupt and essentially artificial way through 'three typically Indian institutions', *viz.* hypergamy, child-marriage and *Satī*. The special vigour to overthrow mother-right must have necessarily implied, as Ehrenfels rightly claims, a corresponding special vigour which mother-right has been enjoying in India since pre-Vedic days.[15]

The historical environment of a given society is determined by the mode of securing its material subsistence. Because agriculture was the discovery of women, the initial stage of agricultural economy created the material conditions for the social supremacy of the females. Thus mother-right in India was historically connected with the early agricultural economy and that was, in all probability, violently suppressed in the

14 *Mother-right in India*, pp. 18ff.

15 *Ibid.*, pp. 121-29, 201-04.

subsequent days. But even then, as Ehrenfels himself has shown, the matriarchal culture-elements could not be stamped out from the lives of the masses. The probable reason is that the vast majority of them still remain the tillers of the soil. By contrast, the economic life of the early Vedic people was predominantly pastoral. That accounts for their highly patriarchal society and the male-dominated world outlook. It is here that we have the real clue to the basic difference between the two main currents, the Vedic and the non-Vedic.[16]

The matrilineal family organisations are now disintegrating. In modern age, husband and wife are drawn closer to each other, and relations between them, which were formal under the old matrilineal organization, have become more personal. Educated Khasis are shifting to Shillong, engaging themselves in trade or service and amassing property independently of their matrilineal clans. Likewise, the high rate of literacy among the Nayars have driven many of them to cities as doctors, lawyers, teachers or clerks, and this in fact acts upon their traditional mode of life.

The power of the *Karnavan* of the *tarwad* began to be challenged from the last century. As early as 1857, T. Madhava Rao, Dewan of Travancore, proposed to legislate for individual partition. The Malabar Marriage Act of 1896 contributed to the stability of the Nayar marriage by providing the right of maintenance to wife and children. The Malabar Wills Act of 1898 recognised the right of a Nayar to dispose of his self-acquired property according to his own will. The Travancore Nayar Regulation of 1912 made the *tarwad* property divisible and the authority of the *Karnavan* restricted. Similar changes were brought by the Cochin Nayar Regulation of 1920. The Madras *Marumakkathāyam* Act of 1933 provided for partition of the *tarwad* into *tavazhis* and recognised children in the female line as preferential heirs to the *Karnavan's* mother's

16 See Chattopadhyaya, *Lokāyata*, pp. 252-58.

tavazhi. Male children, were also given some legal security in relation to property. On the formation of the Kerala State, the Travancore Nayar Regulation was extended to the whole state by the Kerala Nayar Act of 1958. The Hindu Succession Act of 1956 has also contributed much to the disintegration of the *tarwads.* Still it is difficult to say whether the Nayars in the near future will change over to the patrilineal family prevalent in other parts of the country.

VIII

WOMEN IN EARLY MATHURĀ EPIGRAPHS*

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A study of the early inscriptions of Mathurā, most of which are private records, throw considerable light on different aspects of social life. A study of the inscriptions gives an idea that donations of a religious kind were often made by women, particularly in the Kuṣāṇa period. Such women appear to have occupied a significant position in the society.

In the pre-Kuṣāṇa inscriptions of Mathurā, we find the term *bhāryā*[1] for wife whereas in the Kuṣāṇa records, we have *dharmapatnī*,[2] *kuṭumbinī*,[3] *bhāryā*,[4] *sahacarī*,[5] etc., and in the post-Kuṣāṇa epigraphs, *dharmapatnī*[6] and *kuṭumbinī*.[7] The inscriptions recording gifts made jointly by several members of a family probably indicate a happy family-life. A girl after marriage must have lived in her husband's family. Often, however, she participated in the dedication made or pilgrimages undertaken by her parents or brothers. Sometimes the mother-

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1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 199-200 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 151 ; H. Lüders, *Mathura Inscriptions* (ed. K. L. Janert), 1961, pp. 49, 155, 163.

2 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 382-83, 387 ; Vol. II, pp. 209-10 ; Lüders, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

3 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 384, 386, 388-89, 395-96 ; Vol. II, pp. 202-03, 205, 208 ; Vol. XIX, pp. 66-67 ; Vol. X, pp. 115-16 , Vol. XXX, p. 184 ; Vogel, *Cat. Arch. Mus. Math.*, pp. 66-67 ; Lüders, *op. cit.*, pp. 120, 187, 199 ; *JUPHS*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 40-41, 48 ; Vol. XXI, pp. 64-65 ; *Ind., Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 37.

4 *ASIR*, Vol. XX, p. 12 ; Lüders, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-17 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 207 ; Vol. X, pp. 119-20 ; *JUPHS*, Vols. XXIV–XXV, p. 219.

5 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 381 ; Vol. II, p. 201.

6 Lüders, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 197 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 210.

in-law, father-in-law, husband, wife, sons and daughters and even the *bhāgineyī*[8] and sister's daughter's daughter (*suṣotidhitu*),[9] are mentioned in votive documents. There are cases in which the names of the parents of girls are mentioned first and then those of her father-in-law, mother-in-law, husband, sons and daughters.

The use of metronymics in which the mother was mentioned by her *gotra* name was popular. We have, e.g., Vāchīputra[10] in a Śuṅga record, Kauśikīputra,[11] Bhārgavīputra[12] and Hāritīputra[13] in the Kṣatrapa epigraphs and Gotīputra[14] and Mogalīputra[15] in pre-Kuṣāṇa inscriptions.

On a study of similar metronymics in early Indian records, D. C. Sircar[16] has come to a few interesting conclusions. In the first place, they were intended to distinguish a person from his many step-brothers, so that the custom of polygamy characterised the contemporary social life. Secondly, the very use of the mother's *gotra* in the metronymic would suggest that it was different from one's father's *gotra*. Sircar showed that sometimes the metronymic of the father (Gautamīputra) was different from that of the son (Vāsiṣṭhīputra), so that the said ladies of the Gautama and Vāsiṣṭha *gotras* apparently continued to use their paternal *gotra* without changing them to the *gotra* of their husbands' family at the time of their marriage. Sircar also pointed out that *gotrāntara* or the change of bride's *gotra* was not an essential feature of the marriage in such cases and that these marriages may have been of the *Rākṣasa*, *Gāndharva*, and other forms in which *gotrāntara* did not take place.

8 Lüders, *op. cit.*, p. 190.
9 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 115.
10 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 198-99.
11 *Ibid.*, p. 207 ; Lüders, *op. cit.*, pp. 155, 202.
12 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 194.
13 *Ibid.*, p. 199.
14 *Ibid.*, p. 201 ; Vol. X, p. 118 ; Vol. XXIV, p. 203.
15 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 151.
16 Sircar, *Stud. in the Soc. and Adm. in Anc. and Med. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 204, 208.

Mentioning one's name along with the metronymic was a fashion among different classes of people. In the pre-Kuṣāṇa period, the donor often preferred to mention his mother's *gotra*, though in the later period, the fashion of the use of metronymics lost its popularity and the donor liked to represent himself as the son of his father whose name was mentioned along with his own.

If the metronymics were used to distinguish one from his step-brothers as suggested by Sircar, then polygamy was not uncommon in the society, as said above. It was prevalent not only in the families of kings and high officials, but also among the ordinary people. This seems probable from references to several wives of a man especially of the richer section of the society.[17] The word *agramahiṣī* meaning the first or chief queen in the lion-capital inscriptions hints to polygamy in the royal families.[18] Bühler translates the term *dharmapatnī* occurring in several private records as 'the first wife'[19] which may be taken to indicate the prevalence of polygamy.

Though there are a few scattered references to polyandry in early Indian literature, we find no evidence of it in the epigraphs of Mathurā.

The reference to the word *ateurena* in the lion-capital inscriptions[20] and *abhyaṁtaro* in a private record[21] of the Kṣatrapa times hint at the existence of the *purdah* system.

In a few inscriptions, a girl mentions only her father's name along with her own,[22] while in most cases, a woman re-

17 *Manu.*, iii. 13 ; *Yājña.*, i. 57; *Baudh.*, i. 8.2-5 ; *Vas.*, i. 24-25 ; *Viṣṇ.*, XXIV 1-4 ; *Arth.*, III. 2 ; *Kām.*, III. 4. 55-56.

18 D. C. Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, 1965, pp. 114-18. In a Mathurā epigraph of the Gupta period (*CII*, Vol. III, p. 26) occurs the word *mahādevī* usually interpreted as 'the chief queen,' i.e. the chief among several queens. But Sircar interprets it merely as 'the queen'. He thinks that *Mahādevī* is a modification of *Devī* just as *Mahārāja* is of *Rājan*.

19 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 382-84, 387-88 ; Vol. II, pp. 209-10.

10 Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, pp. 114-18.

21 Lüders, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

22 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 205 ; Vol. X, pp. 119-20 ; Vol. XXVIII, p. 43 ; *JUPHS*, Vol. XXI, pp. 45-46 ; Lüders, *op. cit.*, pp. 103, 205.

fers to her husband's name along with her other relatives. In some other records, however, the woman refers to only her son's name, but not the name of her husband.[23] These cases probably illustrate the story of woman as living under the protection of her father, husband and sons in different parts of her life. There are inscriptions[24] recording donations made by Buddhist and Jain *bhikṣuṇīs*.

A large number of literary and epigraphic records make mention of the *gaṇikās*[25] who appear to have enjoyed some position in the society. Sometimes, the *gaṇikās* were highly accomplished and educated ladies, skilled in the sixty-four arts. Vātsāyana speaks of the *gaṇikās*. Courtesans with a high intellectual attainment, skill in the arts and a trained mind attained the position of *gaṇikā*.[26] A Kuṣāṇa inscription[27] from Mathurā records the erection of a shrine for the *Arhats*, a hall of homage, a reservoir and stone-slabs for the worship of the *Arhats* by a *gaṇikā* named Nādā who was the daughter of the *gaṇikā* Daṁdā.

23 *Ibid.*, pp. 30, 38 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 202.

24 Lüders, *op. cit.*, pp. 55, 165, 190; *JUPHS*, Vol. XII, p. 28 ; *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 273-74.

25 *Lalit.*, XII. 12; *Bharata N S*, XXIV. 151-65 ; *Manu.*, IV. 209 ; *Mahāvagga*, VI. 17 ; VIII, 1 ; Pāṇini, *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, IV. II. 40 ; *Arth.*, II. XXVII , *Kām.*, II. x. 52.

26 *Kām.*, I. iii. 20-21.

27 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 153.

IX

VARṆA-VYAVASTHĀ AND CASTE SYSTEM IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY A. D.

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Varṇa-vyavasthā is a corner-stone in the magnificent edifice of the Hindu social structure. It is universally accepted as one of the most distinctive and outstanding characteristics of the Hindu society, and is, perhaps, without any adequate parallel in human history.[1] *Varṇāśrama-dharma* is a significant synonym for Hinduism and has worked as a basic factor in the systematization of the Hindu way of life. From Kashmir to Kanyākumārī and from Kāmarūpa to Gujarāt, the predominance of *Varṇāśrama-dharma* has remained, generally speaking, undisturbed and unchanged throughout the ages.

The period under review witnessed the ascendancy of *Varṇāśrama dharma.* The revival of Hindusim, which had taken place under the Imperial Guptas, was complete in the sixth and seventh centuries A. D. Another outstanding feature of this period is that Hinduism gradually displaced Buddhism, which could never regain the predominance it enjoyed under Aśoka and Kaniṣka. Thus the strongest challenge to *Varṇāśrama-dharma* was silenced.

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1 Ludwig and Senart maintain that the four classes (*Pistras*), viz. *Athrasvas* (Priests), *Rathaesthas* (warriors), *Vastriyas Fshouyants* (family chiefs) and *Huitis* (labourers) of the earliest Iranian society respectively correspond to the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras of the Hindu society. R.C. Majumdar (*Corporate Life in Ancient India*, pp. 143-44) regards this correspondence correct ; but the Varṇas of our society cannot be identified with any other social institutions of the world. Certain scholars and sociologists have also pointed out that the social classes similar to the Varṇas were in existence in European society. See L. F. Ward, 'Social Classes and Sociological Theory' in *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. VII, pp. 617-27 ; cf. Ralph Lincoln, *The Study of Men*, pp. 127–28. It seems that the statements are not wholly correct. Our social order as based on *varṇa* and *āśrama* is o iginally and fully Indian.

All the epigraphic records that have been discovered so far provide with enough evidence which clearly proves that the *Varṇāśrama-dharma* was founded on solid grounds. *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja*[2] Prabhākaravardhana is said to be 'the supporter of the *Varṇāśrama* order'.[3] Several other grants of this period refer to the kings and rulers who are invariably said to have been constantly busy in regulating proper functioning of all the *varṇas* and the *āśramas*.[4] Writers on ancient Indian social and cultural institutions regarded as one of the main duties of a Hindu monarch to look after the observance of the duties and obligations of the people according to laws and customs of the *varṇas* and the *āśramas*. He was never expected to allow the people to swerve from their duties.[5]

The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang, who visited India and stayed here for nearly fifteen years, made a survey of social and political conditions. He writes, "There are four orders of hereditary class distinctions."[6] These four orders consisted of the Brāhmaṇas, or 'purely living people', the Kṣatriyas, 'the race of kings', the Vaiśyas or 'a class of traders' and the Śūdras.[7]

Bāṇa in his *Harṣacarita* characterises Harṣa as one who carried out all the rules for the *varṇas* and the *āśramas* like Manu.[8] While speaking about the social and cultural life and the prosperity of the Śrīkaṇṭha-janapada, he says that 'the

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2 Panikkar wrongly tells us that the epithet is ascribed to Harṣa's grandfather (*Śrī-Harṣa of Kanauj*, p. 38).

3 In all the family records this epithet is assigned to Prabhākaravardhana.

4 As almost all the inscriptions of this period offer such information, it is not possible to refer to them all.

5 Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, trans. R. Shamasastry, 1951, Mysore, Book I, Chap. III.

6 According to Watters, the particulars given by Hiuen-tsang about the division of the people in the four classes are 'rendered loosely' (*Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. I, p. 168).

7 *Loc. cit.*

8 Trans. Cowell and Thomas, p. 66.

laws of the *varṇas* were for ever unconfounded'.[9] Throughout the pages of Bāṇa's works,[10] Harṣa's dramas and the works of the other contemporary authors we get a picture of society which was definitely divided into the four *varṇas.*

The Brāhmaṇas enjoyed a very high and respectful position in the society. They were universally honoured for their high standard of purity, learning and social status. They were the most exalted citizens among all.

The period under review is marked with two main currents. Firstly, the glorification of gifts to the Brāhmaṇas by the other three *varṇas* became a distinct feature of Hinduism.[11] By gifts, Manu means gifts to the Brāhmaṇas. He says that it was the supreme duty of man in the Kali age.[12] Almost all inscriptions and literary works of this period testify to the fact that it was not a mere wish of the Brāhmaṇas, but a living reality acted upon by the contemporary men and women.[13] The people in those times firmly believed that feeding the Brāhmaṇas was one of the acknowledged means of gaining godly favours and religious merit.[14] They performed the *svastivācana*[15] rite and received gifts. Harṣa's dramas and Bāṇa's works contain several such examples.[16] The Brāhmaṇas received both gifts and respect at the royal courts.[17]

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9 *Ibid.*, p. 79.

10 The *Harṣacarita* and *Kādambarī* are known to be the works of Bāṇa. But there are other works to which reference will be made later.

11 G. S. Ghurye, *Caste and Class in India,* Bombay, 1950.

12 *Manusmṛti*, VIII.6.

13 R. G. Bhandarkar, *A Peep into the Early Hist. of India,* p. 53; Chakaladar, *Studies in Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra,* pp. 98–99.

14 Cowell and Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

15 *Svastivācana* denotes the chanting of benedictory hymns by Brāhmaṇas, and presents were made to the Brāhmaṇas on such occasions. See Monier-Williams' *Dict.*, p. 1283.

16 *Priyadarśikā,* Act II, p. 21; *Ratnāvalī,* Act II; Cowell and Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 65; *Harṣacarita*, ed. Kane, p. 35; *Kādambarī,* trans. Ridding, p. 55.

17 *Priyadarśikā,* Act II, p. 21; *Ratnāvali,* Act II; Cowell and Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 65ff.; *Harṣacarita,* ed. Kane, II, p. 35; *Kādambarī*, p. 55.

A large number of grants were made to the Brāhmaṇas. Harṣa's two grants were also made to Brāhmaṇas. He is said to have donated to the Brāhmaṇas 'a hundred villages, delimited by a thousand ploughs', on the eve of his departure for the *digvijaya* (world-conquest).[18] All the personal belongings of the deceased king Prabhākaravardhana were given to the Brāhmaṇas.[19] They also 'consumed the departed spirit's first oblation.[20] Their place in society was indispensable as priests and preceptors. All important religious ceremonies were performed by a *purohita* who received gifts and donations for his religious performances. Literary and epigraphic sources at our disposal provide us with a number of instances of these ceremonial rites.

But this was not merely by virtue of their being Brāhmaṇas. Their social status was based on their learning and religious life. According to Hiuen-tsang, they were 'purely living' people.[21] The Chinese pilgrim tells us that the Brāhmaṇas keep their principles and live contentedly, strictly observing ceremonial purity.[22] At another place he writes, 'among the various castes and classes of the country the Brāhmaṇas were the purest,' and they were 'highly esteemed'. It was for their reputation that the name 'Brāhmaṇa-country' (P'o-lo-men–kuo) became a 'popular one for India' among the Chinese people.[23] The pilgrim was impressed by their devotion to learning. He met one Brāhmaṇa who was 'super-abundant in reasoning and eminent in the Vedas and other *śāstras*'.[24]

With this account of the Chinese pilgrim, the views of Bāṇa[25]

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18 Cowell and Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 164.

20 *Loc. cit.*

21 Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

22 *Loc. cit.*

23 *Ibid.*, p. 140. This name was used by the Chinese specially. For Watters' remarks, see *op. cit.*, p. 140.

24 Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, pp. 74-75.

25 Cowell and Thomas, p. 111 ; Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

do not appear to be exaggerated when he uses the epithet *Brahmamukha* for the Brāhmaṇas 'who had the Vedas on their lips.[26] For the Brāhmaṇas it was absolutely necessary to learn the Vedas by heart. In the *Nāgānanda*, the Vidūṣaka is asked by the Ceṭī to repeat the Vedic hymns to prove that he was a Brāhmaṇa.[27] In the *Priyadarśikā*, the king says to the Vidūṣaka that the qualities of a Brāhmaṇa are known by the number of the Vedas he knows.[28]

Sometimes the Brāhmaṇas were known after the particular Veda of which they attained mastery.[29] The Banskhera grant was issued to *Bhaṭṭa* Bālacandra and *Bhaṭṭa* Bhadrasvāmin. The former was a Ṛgvedin Brāhmaṇa whereas the latter was a Sāmavedin.[30] Similar epithets are also ascribed to the donees of the Madhuban grant.[31] The epithets in these and several other grants, most probably, denote the Brāhmaṇa's mastery of the respective Vedas. The faces of the cousins of Bāṇa are said to have been 'made pure by the study of the Vedas'.[32] Bāṇa tells us that he had 'studied the Vedas with the six Aṅgas'.[33] He informs us that, after Prabhākaravardhana's death, Harṣa was 'closely attended by old Brāhmaṇas who were well-versed in the Śruti, Smṛti and Itihāsa'.

The Brāhmaṇas were the teachers and preceptors of the people, and as such, they enjoyed a place of honour. The houses of Bāṇa's kinsmen are described as having been 'filled

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26 Here *Brahma-mukha* has two senses, (1) *brahma vedaḥ mukhe yeṣām*, i. e., 'who had the Vedas on their lips,' and (2) *Brahmā mukhaṁ yeṣām* i.e. 'who had god Brahman at their head'. See Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 135; Cowell and Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 111, note 1. The former sense has been accepted as proper. Monier-Williams gives a different meaning, *op. cit.*, p. 739.

27 *Nāgānanda*, ed. Sadhu Ram, Act III, pp. 82-83.

28 *Priyadarśikā*, Act II, p. 22.

29 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 208-11.

30 *Loc. cit.*

31 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 67ff.

32 Cowell and Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 66.

with the students and disciples who were making noise by continual recitations.[34]

Bāṇa starts the second canto of his *Harṣacarita* with a beautiful description of the houses of his kinsmen. The houses were 'resonant with the sounds of continual recitations and filled with young students attracted by the sacrifices'. There were 'great terraces in front of the doors which were green with the rice and panicum for the "sacrificial cakes" laid out to be dried, scattered on the skins of the black antelope'. There was an abundance of fuel [for Homa], leaves and 'bundles of green Kuśa-grass, brought by hundreds of pure disciples'. Oblations of rice were offered by young maidens. There were heaps of cowdung and fuel which 'covered the terraces in their court marked by the round hoofs of the cows'. A large number of ascetics were busy 'in pounding the clay for making pots (*kamaṇḍalus*)'.

Altars were made for sacrificial fires, with the ground whitened with the lines of offerings to the Devas. There were 'young spotted goats' which were brought for the purpose of sacrifice.[35]

The Brāhmaṇas put on the *yajñopavīta* or *brahmasūtra*.[36] *Brahmasūtra* was also put on by Brāhmaṇa females. While describing the costume of Sarasvatī, Bāṇa says that 'her body was purified by the *brahmasūtra*'.[37] In the *Kādambarī*, Mahāśvetā is also said to have put on the *brahmasūtra*.

Though the Brāhmaṇas were respected for their learning and high moral conduct, their place in the society was also regarded as higher than that of the other *varṇas* because of being born as Brāhmaṇa. In the *Harṣacarita*, we are told that 'respect was due' even to the Brāhmaṇa 'by birth merely and uninitiated by ceremonies'.[38] Prince Candrāpīḍa was

34 *Ibid.*, p. 35.
35 *Ibid.*, p. 36.
36 *Ibid.*. pp. 5ff. ; *Kādambarī*, p. 105. There are several references to *yajñopavīta* in Harṣa's dramas also.
37 Cowell and Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
38 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

advised to pay respect to the Brāhmaṇas and, throughout his life, he was respectful towards them.[39]

The second *varṇa* in the social structure of the Hindus during the period under review was the Kṣatriya.[40] According to Hiuen-tsang, this class was 'the race of kings' and 'has held sovereignty for many gererations'.[41] They are also praised for their 'benevolence and mercy'.[42] The kings were generally Kṣatriyas when the Chinese pilgrim paid his visit. But Hiuen-tsang himself has recorded some exceptions. He says that the king of Matipura was of the Śūdra community.[43]. According to him, king Kumāra of Kāmarūpa was a Brāhmaṇa.[44] Another Brāhmaṇa king was ruling over Chitore (Chih-chi-t'o).[45] There were also several such examples ; but their insignificant number suggests that Kṣatriya kings were in overwhelming majority. Of course it would not mean that all the Kṣatriyas were kings. Bāṇa describes two famous races of the Kṣatriyas,[46] viz. the Lunar and Solar.

We find examples of Kṣatriyas depicted as respecting the Brāhmaṇas. They gave them gifts and granted land in their favour. Hiuen-tsang speaks of Harṣa's charitable deeds for the Brāhmaṇas along with other people.

39 *Kādambarī*, pp. 62ff.

40 We do not possess as much material for them as we have for the study of the Brāhmaṇas. Yet some light is thrown by Hiuen-tsang and Bāṇa.

41 Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 168.

42 *Ibid.*, pp. 168ff.

43 *Ibid.*, p. 322 ; *Life*, p. 79.

44 He also tells us that the reigning king was 'a descendant of Nārāyaṇa Deva'. This information appears to have been based on the tradition current in those days. We have seen that Bāṇa also traces the origin of the family of king Bhāskaravarman to Nārāyaṇa in his Boar incarnation. But we cannot rely upon the statement of the pilgrim that 'the sovereignty had been transmitted in the family for 1000 generations. See *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 186.

45 *Ibid.*, p. 251. Cunningham suggests that it should be 'identified with the kingdom of Jajhoti, the capital of which was Khajurah or Khajura which corresponds to the modern district of Bundelkhand' (*Anc. Geog. Ind.*, p. 481). [The identification of Chi-chi-t'o is uncertain ; but it was probably in Western India.—Ed.]

46 Cowell and Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 128 ; Kane, *op. cit.*, I, p. 16.

The Kṣatriyas were noted for their patriotism, valour, courage and heroism. They were great warriors and fought many battles. The *janapada* of Sthāṇvīśvara was regarded as the land of heroes and 'the sons of swords' (i.e. the Kṣatriyas).[47] They worshipped their arms, and it seems that it was customary with the heroes of the Kṣatriya community. Bāṇa informs us that Prabhākaravardhana worshipped his sword named Aṭṭahāsa with perfumes, scents, frankincense and wreaths.[48]

The third *varṇa* in the society was the Vaiśya said to form 'a class of traders'.[49] According to Hiuen-tsang, they 'bartered commodities and pursued gains far and near'.[50] Harṣa's dramas contain several examples of business and trade. The traders are said to have gone as far as Ceylon. Bāṇa also speaks of this community while describing the richness and prosperity of the Śrīkaṇṭha-janapada. The Vaiśya community wielded power from the very beginning of Gupta rule. The traders in fact have formed a powerful community throughout the ages and have influenced the life of the people and the political atmosphere with the might of their wealth. But, as all the Kṣatriyas were not kings, all the Vaiśyas were not traders. The majority of them must have pursued trade. Others must have taken to agriculture and other vocations also.*

The fourth class of the people was the Śūdra. According to Hiuen-tsang, they were 'agriculturists'.[51] Here again our pilgrim is not accurate in his description. The majority of the people formed the class of agriculturists, and the Śūdras never formed the majority. There were no strict rules

47 *Ibid.*, p. 82.

48 Cowell and Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

49 Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 168.

50 *Loc. cit.*

* [King Harṣavardhana of the Puṣyabhūti family is stated to have been a Vaiśya (*ibid.*, p. 343).—Ed.]

51 *Ibid.*, p. 168.

about following this occupation.[52] Hiuen-tsang himself met a Brāhmaṇa who is said to have been ploughing the land.[53] Some of the Śūdras were rulers.[54]

The general condition of the outcastes was not satisfactory. They were segregated and disallowed to mix with the people of the three higher *varṇas*. Hiuen-tsang mentions butchers, fishermen, public performers, executioners and scavengers, who 'had their habitations marked by a distinguishing sign'.[55] They were living 'outside the cities and were required to sneak along on the left when going about in hamlets'.[56] This description is confirmed by Bāṇa who informs us that 'the Cāṇḍāla maiden had a bamboo stick with its end jagged, with which she made a stroke on the floor to rouse the attention of the king'.[57] Bāṇa treats her as 'one of Mātaṅga (Cāṇḍāla or low) birth unworthy of being touched'.[58]

Hiuen-tsang writes, "there are also the mixed castes ; numerous clans formed by groups of people according to their kinds and these cannot be described."[59] He is evidently very brief in his description of these mixed castes ; but Bāṇa draws an elaborate picture. His knowledge of these people was very wide and he had a large circle of friends who belonged to these classes.[60] Among them the following persons deserve mention as they denote occupational groups and classes. (1) Two cousins of Bāṇa are called Pāraśava. We cannot determine with certainty what particular caste the word denoted. According to Manu,[61] Pāraśava means 'the

52 Vātsyāyana prescribes the three approved means of subsistence for the Vaiśya, viz., trade, cattle-rearing and agriculture (Chakladar, *Studies in Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra*, p. 99).

53 Beal, *Life*, p. 73.

54 Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 322 ; Beal, *Life*, p. 79.

55 Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 147.

56 *Loc. cit.*

57 *Kādambarī*, trans. Ridding, p. 8.

58 *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

59 Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 147, 168.

60 Cowell and Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 32ff. ; Kane, *op. cit.*, I, p. 19.

61 [IX. 178.—Ed.]

son of a Brāhmaṇa from the mother of the Śūdra caste', and such a son was so designated because he was no better than a corpse (*śava*) for conferring religious and spiritual benefits which a son was expected to do. Candrasena and Mātrasena were the sons of Bāṇa's uncles. Such people, most probably, formed a debased class of the Pāraśava or degraded Brāhmaṇa. (2) *Bhāṣākavi* Īśāna belonged to the class of vernacular poets or composers of songs.[62] (3) Veṇībhārata was another poet in the company of Bāṇa who belonged to the class of 'bards or panegyrists'. This class most probably consisted of the poets singing the songs of praise of families at ceremonial occasions such as marriages and births. (4) The Bandis formed a class. (5) A class of dealers in antidotes. Bāṇa mentions one such man named Mayūraka. The word *jāṅgulika* means a physician, expert in removing the effects of poison. (6) A class of betel-bearers (*tāmbūladāyaka*). (7) A class of readers (*pustaka-vācaka*) whose occupation we cannot exactly determine. He was perhaps, employed to read some religious and literary works before the people. Bāṇa mentions one such named Sudṛṣṭi who came to him to bid farewell when he was leaving for the royal camp. He read to him some pages of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*.[63] (8) A class of goldsmiths whom Bāṇa refers to as Kalāda[64] or Svarṇakāra or Hemakāra.[65] They appear to have been engaged in making gold ornaments. (9) The word *hairika* is translated in various ways. Cowell and Thomas[66] mean by it 'the supervisor' whereas the commentator Śaṅkara[67] tells us that he was entrusted with the supervision of the work of goldsmiths. It is also suggested that the word may indicate a 'gem-cutter'.[68] Most probably, it denotes the

62 Kane, *op. cit.*, Notes, I, p. 89. Īśāna seems to be a vernacular poet (N. R. Premi, *Jain Sāhitya aur Itihās*, pp. 325, 371).

63 Cowell and Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 72. [Cf. art of *pustaka-vācana* in the *Kāmasūtra* list of 64 *kalās*.—Ed.]

64 *Ibid.*, p. 33. [Sic—Ed.]
65 *Ibid.*, p. 124.
66 *Ibid.*, p. 33.
67 Kane, *op. cit.*, Notes, p. 90.
68 Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

class of people who were experts in gemmology. (10) A class of painters (*Citrakṛt*). (11) A class of model-makers or manufacturers of dolls. According to the commentator, it may mean *lepyakāra*. (12) A class of drummers (*Mārdaṅgika*).[69] (13) A class of pipers or flute-players (*Vāṁśika*). (14) Narrators or story-tellers (*Kathaka*). (15) A class of leather-workers (*Carmakāra*). (16) A class of of carpenters.[70] (17) A class of blacksmiths.

Bāṇa also refers to many other persons who appear to have belonged to one occupational group or other; but, at present, it is not possible to say anything conclusively whether they formed separate social classes as based on their occupations or were only interested in particular trade with their vocations having nothing to do with their castes.

Besides these, Hiuen-tsang[71] also mentions certain classes of people such as butchers, fishermen, public performers, executioners and scavengers.

These social groups or sub-castes were not new to the Indian society of the age of Harṣa. We find many occupational classes even in the Ṛgvedic age[72] and they are found even today. The various sub-castes or social groups are the products of different trades and occupations. It was also due to social violations in the codes of marriages and general ethics. When society attached much emphasis on the purity of *varṇa* and did not encourage even the *anuloma* marriage, we find many new social groups coming out of such matrimonial alliances which were not socially recognised. The children born out of such unrecognised unions were outcasted and formed their own separate social classes. But it did not result in disturbing the social structure, and the importance of the

69 Leather-workers are also said to have played on drums on festive occasions (Cowell and Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 123).

70 Bāṇa uses the word *sūtradhāra* for a carpenter (Cowell and Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-24). This word was not in vogue in earlier times.

71 Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 147.

72 Iyenger, *Life in Ancient India in the Age of Mantras*, p. 34.

varṇa continued to enjoy a high place in the set-up of the Indian society throughout the ages.*

Thus we have seen that society was well-composed. The Brāhmṇas enjoyed an exalted and respectable position. The Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas were also influential classes in the society. The lot of the Śūdras, however, was not very happy and they did not enjoy all the rights and social privileges which the other three higher *varṇas* enjoyed. Yet there was complete social harmony and peace. The people obeyed the social code and, generally speaking, we find no evidence of any transgression of the social laws, morals and customs.

Here also we find a remarkable unity in diversity. The people of all the *varṇas* and social groups lived harmoniously. In spite of all social and racial distinctions, each class was regarded as an integral and inseparable part of the society. Each *varṇa* or group performed happily and ungrudgingly all the duties and functions assigned to it. There was no desire for social supremacy and social enhancement of status. Even the Śūdras were satisfied with their occupations. Moral values and spiritual ideals were treated with primary importance. The society assigned to each individual his due position in its structure and it regularised his relations with people of the other communities. It provided all possible help for one's material attainments and moral development and brought harmony and understanding between man and man.

* [The *Varṇa-saṅkara* theory of Manu and others seems to be merely a fanciful attempt to associate all communities, including foreigners, with the conventional *Catur-varṇa* classification of the society. It does not appear to have any historical basis.—Ed.]

X

THE ŚAIVAS IN THE SOCIETY OF THE PALLAVA AGE

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The Pallava period is one of the most creative and fascinating periods in the history of India. It was characterised by a vigorous movement in the fields of art, literature and religion. As in the Gupta period in the history of North India, foundations were laid in the Pallava period for the development of Neo-Hinduism marked by the evolution of important and refined theistic cults.

The religious conditions in the Tamil country during the early centuries of the Christian era, known usually as the Saṅgam age, were characterised by a mixture of practices which were of Vedic and Non-Vedic, Aryan and Nonaryan origins. Śiva in some of his important aspects or manifestations was known and worshipped, as also Subrahmaṇya, generally called Murugan. This period which was marked by the integration of different religions and cults and the beginnings of what may be called Hinduism, the result of mutual tolerance and adjustments among theistic sects, worshipping different gods and observing different practices, was followed by one of general political confusion in the Tamil country created by the intrusion of a tribe of people called the Kalabhras, under whom there was a rising tide of Buddhism and Jainism to the disadvantage of orthodox Hinduism, if not at its expense. But soon there was a turn of the tide, and orthodox Hinduism in its different aspects revived with the coming into prominence of the Pāṇḍyas in the extreme south and the Pallavas in the Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam area in the latter half of the sixth century.

The Pallava period was marked by the existence, side by side, of many religious sects, like the followers of Śiva and

Viṣṇu, among the Hindus, and the Buddhists and Jains. There were many schools among the followers of Śiva and they are referred to by the Śaiva Nāyanār Appar as the Rudrapalgaṇattār Viriśaḍaiviratigal, Andaṇar, Śaivar, Pāśupatar and Kāpālikar. Though all of them are not easy of precise identification and description, it appears certain that, in the early Pallava period, the Pāśupatas and Kāpālikas were flourishing in South India. The rules of the Pāśupatas are an interesting part of their religion. They laid particular emphasis on *yoga* and emphasised the need for God to be meditated in the heart. The Pāśupatas used to bathe their bodies thrice a day in ashes, lie down in ashes, make noise like *ahā ahā*, sing loudly the praises of their god, dance, curl their tongues and roar like bulls, make prostration and circumambulation and repeat the names of Śiva. The Pāśupata ascetics were enjoined to live in lonely houses or caves or cremation grounds and beg their food. They could eat meat provided it was not made by themselves killing an animal. The Pāśupata was to be a *liṅgadhārin*. It is not clear what is meant by the term *liṅga*, though it has been suggested that it means a distinguishing feature, in the same way as a *daṇḍa* is generally a distinguishing feature of a Sannyāsin. In spite of their repulsive practices, these Pāśupatas appear to have been, on the whole, of the orthodox school as distinct from the Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas. The Sanskrit farce, *Mattavilāsaprahasana* written by the Pallava king Mahendravarman (610–630 A.D.), mentions Kāñcī as a place where the Kāpālikas were flourishing in good numbers. The work brings out, on the stage, a Kāpālika ascetic and a Kāpālinī and describes their practice in all vividness. The name Kāpālika which means 'skull-man' is expressive of what they were. According to Rāmānuja, as pointed out by R. G. Bhandarkar, the six marks of the Kāpālikas were a necklace, an ornament, an ear-ornament, a crest-jewel, ashes, and the *yajñopavīta* or the sacred thread. There appear to have been two groups among them, the Brāhmaṇa Kāpālikas and the non-Brāhmaṇa Kāpālikas. Their general practice

were characterised by human sacrifices, strong drinks and sexual licence, an elaborate system of *yoga* and the superhuman powers that spring from it. They dwelt among the ashes of the dead and ate and drank out of a human skull. Their ways were repulsive, and there appears to be much truth in what Rāmānuja says about them in the *Śrībhāṣya* : they meditated on themselves as seated in the *pudendum muliebre.* The Kālāmukhas were an extreme sect of the Kāpālikas and their practices consisted of eating food in a skull, besmearing the body with the ashes of a cremated body, eating the ashes, holding a club, keeping a pot of wine and worshipping God as seated therein. They were worshippers of Aghora and Bhairava.

The systemiser of the Pāśupata cult, Lakulin or Lakulīśa, is believed to be an incarnation of Maheśvara, who was born at Kāyārohaṇa or Kāyāvatāra identifiable with Karvan in the former Baroda State. He is usually assigned to the early decades of the first century A. D. By about the fourth or fifth century at least, Pāśupata Śaivism appears to have become strong in South India, and Lakulin or Lakulīśa even came to be represented iconically as an incarnation of Śiva. This is suggested among others by the Liṅga in the Paraśurāmēśvara temple at Guḍimallam in the Chittoor District of Andhra Pradesh. The figure which is aniconic as also iconic may be described as follows : "The Liṅga, which is made of a reddish igneous rock, is five feet in height and bears upon its front portion a male figure. It has two arms, the right one of which holds by its hindlegs something which looks like a ram or goat with its head hanging downwards, the left one holds a water pot, and what looks like a *paraśu* (battle-axe) rests upon his left shoulder. On the head of the figure is a covering, which resembles a turban or plaited hair. The hair is not matted. The figure has no *yajñopavīta*, which, according to the Āgamas it should have. The Liṅga itself is composed of two parts, the nut and the shaft of the *membrum virile*, each of them shaped exactly like the original model, in a state of erection. The

longitudinal facets on the erect organ (*ūrdhvaretas*) are also represented in this Liṅga." The identification of the figure in the front of the Liṅga has baffled scholars. It is usually taken to be Śiva himself. But it may probably be identified with Lakulīśa, the incarnation of Maheśvara on the following grounds.

It is well-known that when a *yogin* passes away, "he does not die like an ordinary mortal with his last breath going out of his earthly nostrils, but rather by a *yoga* feat which enables him to pass it through the *brahmarandhra*, that is, by breaking his human skull. It is only in this manner that he is absorbed into *Brahman*, if he is a Vedāntist, or into Śiva, if he is a Pāśupata or Māheśvara." Since Lakulin was an incarnation of Śiva and worshipped as such, he had to be represented as absorbed into the divinity of Śiva. In places like Kārvan in North India, Lakulin is represented as a human being invariably with two hands, and with his characteristic signs, namely a *lakuṭa* or staff in his left hand and a citron in the right. Though the Guḍimallam figure bears slightly different characteristics regarding the things held in the right hand, it may be identified with that of Lakulīśa, on account of the *lakuṭa* held in the left hand. One or two things associated with the Guḍimallam figure, namely the uncouth *apasmāra-puruṣa* under his feet, the ram-like thing in the right hand and *kamaṇḍalu* in the left hand are difficult of identification and interpretation. The figure itself may be dated about the fifth or sixth century to which period the Sūrya figure in the same temple may be said to belong.*

The early Pallava kings themselves appear to have been followers of Śaivism probably of the Pāśupata school. The religion of Mahendravarman is a much discussed question. The *Periyapurāṇam* of Śekkilār contains an account of the conversion of Mahendravarman from Jainism to Śaivism by Appar,

* [The Guḍimallam Liṅgam may be pre-Christian as is generally supposed by scholars. The erect organ is *ūrdhva-liṅga*, not *ūrdhva-retas* strictly speaking.—Ed.]

also called Tirunāvukkaraśu, and it has been generally taken to embody an authentic tradition. According to it, Appar, who was a convert to Śaivism, was persecuted by the king who was a Jain; but the saint ultimately attained success in winning him over to the Śaiva path. The *Periyapurāṇam* does not mention the name of the converted ruler, but calls him a Pallava king and narrates that, after his conversion, he demolished Jain monasteries at Pāṭaliputra (Cuddalore in the South Arcot District) and, out of the materials thus obtained, built a Śiva temple at Tiruvadigai called Guṇadharavīccuram. King Mahendravarman bore the title *Guṇabhara,* which has been equated with the name Guṇadhara, and hence he has been credited with the construction of the temple. But it has been argued that the suggestion is arbitrary, and on the conclusion that structural temples were not known during the period of Mahendravarman, it is suggested that the *Periyapurāṇam* hymn does not afford any clue to Mahendravarman's conversion from Jainism. But an interesting inscription of the king in the Tiruchirapalli cave seems to make reference to it. The inscription reads:

> *Guṇabhara-nāmani rājany=anena*
> *liṅgena liṅgini jñānaṁ*
> *prathāñ=cirāya loke vipakṣa-vṛtteḥ*
> *parāvṛttam*

and it has been rendered thus: "While the king called Guṇabhara is a worshipper of the *liṅga,* let the knowledge which turned back from hostile (*vipakṣa*) conduct, be spread for a long time in the world by this *liṅga.*" Hence the expression *liṅgena liṅgini jñānam* has been taken as the equivalent of *Harasya tanu*, and *tanu*, in another inscription in the same cave, is said to refer to the cave temple itself rather than a *liṅga*; and as the whole verse is in double entendre containing allusions to Indian logic in which *liṅgin* means the subject of a proposition, *liṅga* the predicate and *vipakṣa* an instance of the opposite side, it has also been supposed that it does not make any reference to his conversion. When a verse is in double entendre, one

must give both the meanings. And if we take the Tiruchirapalli inscription mentioned above in both the meanings, it will be obvious that the *liṅga* cult was in vogue in the Tamil country during the period and Mahendravarman changed over to it. This finds support from the tradition embodied in the *Periyapurāṇam.* It is learnt from the Hosacote plates that his grandmother was a Jain and from the Udayendiram grant that his father was a devout Vaiṣṇava. It seems that, like the members of the Puṣyabhūti dynasty in North India, members of the Pallava royal family belonged to different religious faiths, and it is not unlikely that Mahendravarman was a follower of the religion of his own grandmother in the early years of his reign, but later changed over to Śaivism and pursued the religion with all the zeal of a new convert. This is further supported by the evidence of the Tiruchirapalli inscription itself which mentions Mahendravarman as carrying the figure of Śiva on his head (*kṛtvā Śivaṁ śirasi*) and the expression *śiras-sarasī Śaṅkara* in the Atiraṇacaṇḍeśvara and Dharmarāja-maṇḍapa of the time of Rājasiṁha at Mahābalipuram. This is quite in accord with the practice of the Pāśupatas of having some symbol or mark to affirm their faith in Śiva. The ramifications of this practice are interesting. The *Liṅga Purāṇa* says that *Pradhāna* (nature) is known as *liṅga* and Parameśvara is the *liṅgin* (the sustainer of the *liṅga*). This cult of the *liṅgadhārins* was popular among the Bhāraśiva Nāgas of Padmāvatī, who are said to have pleased Śiva immensely by carrying a Śiva-liṅga constantly on the shoulder to the extent of pressing hard on it. A Kuṣāṇa sculpture in the Mathura Museum shows a *liṅga* tied to the *jaṭā* of Śiva while carvings of Śiva carrying a *liṅga* in one of his arms are seen in the temples of Kailāsanātha at Ellora and Virūpākṣa at Paṭṭadakkal. The extension of this concept into the South is seen in a later Pallava bas-relief in a wall in the *maṇḍapa* of the Muktīśvara temple at Kāñcīpuram. Later this concept travelled farther south as we find a similar Śiva with *liṅga* on shoulders on the upper *tala* in the Mūvar Koil at Koḍumbālūr in the Tiruchirapalli District.

The Kāpālika aspect of Śaivism followed by the Pallava kings is suggested by the *dhvaja* (banner) of their dynasty. It was the *Khaṭvāṅga-dhvaja*, i.e. the banner that bore the representation of a club with a skull at the top. It is a known fact that the Kāpālikas wore wreaths of skulls as head-ornaments, adorned themselves with necklaces of skulls and carried human skulls with them.

An important aspect of Śaivism in the Pallava period relates to the Somāskanda cult. The hind wall of most of the Pallava rock-cut or structural temples consecrated to Śiva contain stone panels in which are sculptured in high or low relief Soma (Śiva) together with Umā and Skanda. Skanda is usually represented as standing or dancing or sitting in between Śiva and Umā or occasionally seated on Umā's lap. The disposition of the panel is such in those temples that one is inclined to feel that the Somāskanda panel was the principal object of worship in the temples at one period and that the Liṅga and the Yoni in front of it was a later consecration in the *garbhagṛha* which obscured their view. This Somāskanda aspect of Śaivism is a purely South Indian contribution. Originally the word itself seems to have been only Somaskanda i.e., Soma plus Skanda. It may be mentioned that even the *Uttarakāmikāgama* refers to Somaskanda only. The form Somāskanda, with the long *ā*, appears to have come into vogue in the Pallava period in South India when the Tantras and Āgamas took some definite shape.*

Another feature of Śaivism during the period relates to Brahma-śāstṛ, an aspect of Subrahmaṇya, in which the god is represented as putting down the pride of Brahman by exposing his ignorance of the Vedas. Brahma-śāstṛ was a favourite theme among the Pallava sculptors. The most important and striking of all the specimens is the one in

* [*Somaskanda* and *Somāskanda* appear to have similar significance—together with Umā (*s-Oma*) and Skanda; together with Umā and Skanda (*Umā-Skanda*).—Ed.]

the Trimūrti cave at Māmallapuram dedicated to the Trinity. According to the sculptural representations in the cave, the concept of the three gods underwent an important iconographic change, the Brahma-śāstṛ aspect of Subrahmaṇya replacing Brahman in the group. The crystalisation of the Dakṣiṇāmūrti and Naṭarāja concepts of Śiva may also be traced to this period.

The period saw the growth of a vigorous *bhakti* movement of the emotional type. It was then that many of the great saints like the Śaiva Nāyanārs and Vaiṣṇava Ālvārs led the movement. This devotional or *bhakti* movement was characterised by the self-surrendering devotion to a personal god and transcended all reason and understanding. *Bhakti* was considered enough to get the Lord's grace and attain salvation. Though the *bhakti* cult might have originated in North India in very early times, as may be seen from the evolution of the Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva cult, it seems certain that it was elaborated more fully in South India in the early medieval period. In this connection, it may be noted that the *Bhāgavata-māhātmya* contains a parable which says that *bhakti* which is described as a woman, was born in the Drāviḍa country, attained her womanhood in Karṇāṭaka and Mahārāṣṭra and reached Vṛindāvana with great misery through Gujarat along with her two sons *jñāna* (knowledge) and *vairāgya* (freedom from desire) and that the sons died there. This shows that South India was a stronghold of the *bhakti* cult. The *bhakti* movement rose above caste and community. The Śaiva saints, as the Vaiṣṇava saints, were drawn from different communities in South India. The sixty three Śaiva Nāyanārs belonged to different communities. Most important among them were Appar, also called Tirunāvukkaraśu, Tirujñānasambandar, Sundaramūrti who lived in the Pallava kingdom. and Māṇikkavācakar who lived in the Pāṇḍya kingdom. The outpourings in hymns of the first three among them are collected in the *Dēvāram* and those of the last in the *Tiruvācakam*.

From the *Dēvāram* hymns one can get a fair idea of the

different iconographic representations of Śiva. Among them were Ardhanārī, Umāmaheśvara, Ekapāda, Ekapāda-Trimūrti, Gaṅgādhara, Gaṅgāvisarjana, Kaṅkāla, Kalyāṇasundara, Gajāri, Kāmadahana, Kālāri, Kirāta, Harihara, Sadāśiva, Caṇḍēśānugraha, Candraśekhara, Somāskanda, Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Tripurāntaka, Pāśupata, Bhikṣāṭana, Bhujaṅgatrāsa, Bhairava, Ṛṣabhārūḍha, Liṅgodbhava, Viṣāpaharaṇa and Jalandhara, to mention only the more important ones. Many of the above manifestations of Śiva of the period, bring out the chronological relation between the hymns of the Nāyanārs and the sculptures of the period. In the numerous monuments at Mahābalipuram, for instance, one finds the sculptures of the following Śaiva gods : Somāskanda, Candraśekhara, Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Ardhanārīśvara, Tripurāntaka, Naṭarāja, Nandīśānugrahamūrti, Vṛṣabhāntikamūrti, Caṇḍeśānugrahamūrti, Gaṅgādhara, Harihara, Pāśupatamūrti, Ekapādamūrti, etc. Likewise the Pallava structural temples like the Kailāsanātha and Vaikuṇṭhanātha temples at Kāñcīpuram, the Talagirīśvara temple at Panamalai and the Shore temple at Mahābalipuram are veritable galleries of Hindu iconography. Although the preceding period of the Saṅgam Classics was undoubtedly familiar with most of these iconographic forms, as may be seen from the literary references to them, it is only in the early Pallava monuments that we find their extant and datable examples.

Though there was much progress of the Śaiva religion and iconography during the period and a Sanskrit inscription in Pallava Grantha characters in Mahābalipuram curses six times those in whose hearts Śiva does not dwell, the prevailing religious trend under the Pallavas was one of a pleasing synchretism. The absence of any specific sectarian bias and an implied underlining of the unity of the Trinity is clear from the rock-cut shrines intended for Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahman in three separate but contiguous cells. In one instance as seen above, Brahman is replaced by the Brahma-śāstṛ aspect of Subrahmaṇya while, in a few, the shrine cells are as many as seven, though they remain unfortunately unfinished to reveal

the deities carved and consecrated therein. The collective worship of the major deities was a great movement which was considerably aided by the systematisation of the six creeds of the Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Gāṇapatya, Kaumāra, Saura and Śākta by Śaṅkar-ācārya, and the introduction and perfection of the *pañcāyatana-pūjā*. At the same time, he fought against the repulsive practices of the Pāśupatas, Kālāmukhas and Kāpālikas, tried to reform them and thereby made them more acceptable. The services of Śaṅkara in this religious upheaval in the Pallava period were really great.

XI

ANNABHOGA IN THE MĀNASOLLĀSA

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The Western Cālukya king Someśvara III was entitled *Sarvajñabhūpa* or *Sarvajñacakravartin* for his extensive knowledge. He composed the *Mānasollāsa* or *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi* about 1130 A.D. It is an encyclopaedic work valuable for the study of the cultural history of India, particularly of the Deccan, in the 12th century A.D. This veritable thesaurus in five *prakaraṇas* of twenty chapters dealing with one hundred different topics contains interesting glimpses of the methods of cookery in vogue at that time. There are 248 *ślokas* on the king's dietary. It mentions that the king should take his food along with his sons, grandsons, relatives and his private servants and the food should be suitable for the season ; e.g., in summer the king should take sweets, and for winter fried food has been prescribed.

The work again mentions that, if the king takes his food facing towards east, he would enjoy long life. He would be victorious, wealthy, and devoted to truth, if he faces towards south, west and north respectively. The king should be served in a golden dish with a bunch of golden vessels for curries. The king should sit on a cushion with a white napkin spread from the navel to the knee.

So far as the order of dishes is concerned, it appears that the king used to take 'Dal,' rice and ghee at the start and ended with milk and sugar. As the king belonged to Karṇāṭaka, 'Chapati' was not included in the daily meals. There are recipes of various delicious dishes ; but the exact amounts of the ingredients are not given.

It is significant that there is no mention of sea-salt. Rock-salt is specifically mentioned. It appears that pepper was used

in salted dishes. It is interesting to note that camphor was used in 'Dahivaḍā'.

In preparing *Kṣīraprakāra*, buffalo milk has been prescribed. In the preparation of *maṇḍa* which is a special Karṇāṭaka dish, it is said that it should be baked on a hot upside-down earthen pot.

The vegetarian dishes like *kṣīra*, *purī*, *ghārage*, *māṁḍe*, *vaḍe* and *dhosaka* are mentioned in the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* and in the contemporary Marāṭhī work *Līlācaritra*. 'Iḍali', which is a popular South Indian dish to-day, is mentioned. Now-a-days 'Iḍali' is prepared out of the mixture of coarse rice and 'urad dal'; but in the *Mānasollāsa* only 'urad dal' has been prescribed. For the preparation of rice, reference is made to eight distinguished varieties, viz., Raktaśāli, Mahāśāli, Muṇḍaśāli, Sthūlaśāli, Sūkṣmaśāli, Gandhaśāli, Saṣaṣṭika[1] and Kaliṅgaka. For the preparation of clarified butter, it is directed that betel leaf and some wheat grains should be added.

So far as the utensils are concerned, it is mentioned that food would be tasty if it is cooked in earthen pots with wooden spoon.

In the *Mānasollāsa*, there are large varieties of non-vegetarian food. For modern 'khimā' mutton currry, cutlets and 'kabab', there are beautiful names like Nadyāvartta, Paryulā, Piṅgā and Kavacandī, and for dried fish the name is Khārakhaṇḍa. In the preparation of non-vegetarian dishes, the use of mustard and Mahāluṅga has been prescribed.

For the preparation of a typical non-vegetarian dish, the author describes the method of removing pig's hair. The pig, after roasting, was cut like a chess-board.

The *Mānasollāsa* does not mention any decoration or 'Raṅgāvali'.

The list of forbidden food includes onion, garlic, village-cock, village-pig, and the meat of tiger, jackal, cat, monkey,

1 Cf. *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, 76.8.

bear, camel, and elephant. The meat of pigeon, parrot, cuckoo and vulture is also forbidden. It is interesting to note the peculiar process of cooking the meat of rats living in the fields near the banks of rivers.

In the history of dietetics, even if there is no systematic book on the art of cooking, almost every branch of Sanskrit literature provides a mass of information regarding food.

Dishes like Apūpa, Kṣīra, Māṣasūpa, etc., are known even from Ṛgvedic times. Meat-curry was a popular dish. King Aśoka tells us in his Rock Edict I that, at one time, many hundred thousands of animals were every day slaughtered in the royal kitchen for the sake of curry.

The following are some non-vegetarian dishes described in the *Mānasollāsa.*

Meat from the spinal cord of a pig cut into pieces and roasted in fire added with spices is known as Bhaḍitraka. When it is cooked, it is called Haṇḍabhaḍitraka in which tamarind water and *hiṅgu* (asafoetida) are necessary. Delicious dishes prepared out of pig's meat are known as Cakkalikā, Pralehakā, Kavachandī and Paryulā. Food prepared out of tortoise meat is known as Nadyāvartta. Varieties of food from sheep-meat are as follows : (1) Bhūṣikā which is so named because it is very beautiful to look at, and (2) Vaṭṭimaka which is Vaḍā prepared with meat. Preparations of the intestine of a sheep are named as Pañchavarṇi, Āntraśuṇṭha and Maṇḍalīya.

The names for preparations of fish are Piṅgā and Khārakhaṇḍa.

The following are some vegetarian preparations. The Kṣīraprakāra may be a sweet like the modern Bengali Sandeśa. The sweet dish called Śikhariṇī, which is made out of curds and sugar, is known as Rasālā in the *Carakasaṁhitā* and *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya.*[2]

2 See *Carakasaṁhitā*, 27.262; *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya,* 6.30. Cf. *Suśrutasaṁhitā,* 46.241.

Kāsāra of the *Mānasollāsa* was similar to *yavāgu* of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī.*[3]

Māṇḍā is a special Karṇāṭaka dish. The description of its preparation is given in details. It is to be made of small specially prepared balls of wheat dough by *karasañcāravartana* and is to be baked on an upside-down hot earthen pot. The word 'Maṇḍā' occurs in the inscription of the Hoysala king Someśvara at Pandharpur, dated Śaka 1159, in the list of offerings to the deity. For 'Chapati' the word is Aṅgārapolikā. For the varieties of 'Puri', the following names occur in the *Mānasollāsa* : (1) Soholā, (2) Patrikā, and (3) Purikā. For the varieties of 'Kachori', the names are Udumbara and Veṣṭikā. The modern popular dish Iḍali is known as Īḍarikā. Vaḍā prepared out of some dough is named Ghārikā.

So far as spices are concerned, pepper, ginger, coriander and mustard are used ; but the use of camphor seems to be unique.

The *Mānasollāsa* refers to the food preparations of the royal-household ; but there is no mention of the food of common people ; nor is there any mention of public eating houses as there is in the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra.*

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3 V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 107 ; cf. 2.15.21.

XII

SOCIAL LIFE OF THE GODS IN SANSKRIT INSCRIPTIONS

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The behaviour of gods and goddesses is an interesting feature of all mythologies. The people who conceived the deities naturally cast them somewhat in their own moulds. Thus we frequently find pictures of human social life in the mythology even though these are also coloured with the people's conception of divinity.

Hindu mythology reflected in Sanskrit inscriptions broadly adheres to the epic and Purāṇic mythology. Many gods and goddesses of the inscriptions are quite unknown to the Vedas, and many, though known, have completely changed characters. Take, for example, the case of Śiva and Pārvatī. Śiva of the Purāṇas is not the same as the terrible Rudra of the Vedas, and in the Classical *kāvyas* and inscriptions, he is almost like any innocent householder, burdened with duties to his family and enjoying such mundane pleasures as the company of his wife or embarassed by the pranks of his sons, the troubles arising out of the quarrels of his two wives, etc. The explanation of such behaviour on the part of a god lies perhaps in the Hindu view that, since the great man is imitated by common man, he should follow the common way of living.[1]

The theme of Śiva's marriage is very popular with the Indian poets and artisans. There are many temples in India with terracotta work depicting the scene on the temple walls. The Arthuna inscription[2] (Vikrama 1136) of Paramāra Cāmuṇḍarāja seeks the blessings of the glances of the Devī at the time of her marriage as she was confused with excitement, budding forth with pleasure, quivering with delight, made

1 *Gītā*, III. 25. [This may be the *līlā* of the gods.– Ed.]

2 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 297.

slow by modesty, and as in terror at the hissing of the snakes clinging to his arm she clenched her hand which was drawn back by the old ladies for Śambhu who seized it eagerly in a firm grasp. This is a typical Indian marriage scene.

The Indragadh (Mandasor District) inscription[3] (Vikrama 767) of Naṇṇappa invokes the blessings of the bashful Gaurī at the time of her marriage, thrilled to look at the image of her handsome husband reflected on the clear jewels on the hoods of the serpents that adorn the hands of the bridegroom.

The Kharod inscription[4] (1181–82 A. D.) of Ratnadeva III invokes the blessings of Lord Śiva who, at the time of his marriage, lighted the lamp of his moon-digit in order to have a good look at the face of Gaurī.

There is a description of Lakṣmī's *svayaṁvara* in the Asankhali plates[5] (Śaka 1225) of Narasiṁha II. The goddess Lakṣmī arising out of the milk ocean churned by the gods and demons chooses Lord Viṣṇu as her husband ignoring such renowned gods as Śiva, Brahman, Purandara, etc., just as the bee chooses the mango-tree in the forest even though there are other trees in bloom.

The different rites of Hindu marriage are referred to in a few Sanskrit inscriptions. The Harasur inscription[6] (12th century A. D.) of king Soma sings the glory of the milk ocean that showered rice on Mukunda, the bridegroom, in the marriage ceremony of Śrī, in the form of sprays of water as the ocean was being churned.

An inscription[7] (1209 A. D.) from the Channarayapatna Taluk describes the seven seas as the *ācamana* water required to be taken by the bridegroom Hari [in his Boar incarnation] as he receives in marriage the hands of Bhū.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 115.

4 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 163.

5 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 115. [The stanza is also found in other records.—Ed.]

6 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 29.

7 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, p. 172.

The Hindu way of life is reflected in the behaviour of the gods and goddesses so that the people's dress, their occupation and their recreations are all ascribed to the deities. Thus Viṣṇu is said to wear white (at times, yellow) garments.[8] The moon as well as the Gaṅgā is described as the unwithered garland on the crown of Lord Śiva.[9] In the Rewa stone inscription[10] (Cedi 800) of the time of Karṇa, Śiva is said to have worn an *uṣṇīṣa* made of snakes on his head.

In the Motupalli pillar inscription,[11] Śiva wears on his head the moon on the Gaṅgā like a *muktā-paṭṭabandha. Kuṁkuma, kastūrikā* and *raktālaktaka* were used by the goddesses. Sītā puts the perfume of fresh flowers on her person.[12] The Devī wore *mekhalā* and anklets of jewels. The gods also used to wear crowns and bangles, *makuṭa, keyūra* and *kaṅkaṇa.* Viṣṇu's special jewel was the *kaustubha.* Sometimes he wore *tulasī-mālā.*[13] Some gods liked to hold a flower—the *līlā-kamala*—in their hands. In the eulogy[14] of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, Kamalā, wife of Viṣṇu, is said to have decorated her body with nice designs of sandal-paste, called *patra-lekhā.* Hari has his body besmeared with such impressions as a result of embracing her. Later he tries to rub it out and is taunted by his other wife, Vāg-devatā.

As regards the system of polygamy among the gods, almost every god has more than one wife. Jealousy and heart-burn naturally result. The Indragadh inscription[15] of Naṇṇappa invokes the blessings of Lord Śiva, chastised by an angry Girijā saying that she has been amply rewarded for her former penance for being united with Śiva, spoiled by whose indul-

8 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 24.
9 *Loc. cit.* ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 137.
10 *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 268.
11 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 190, text line 12.
12 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, p. 156.
13 *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 98.
14 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 205.
15 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 115.

gence Jāhnavī dares set foot on Girijā's head. She can tolerate it no more. So, leaving her son with her husband, she is going away to her parents.

Śiva's moral conduct also is not always beyond reproach. The Gurgi (Rewa) inscription[16] of Prabodhaśiva seeks the protection of Śiva silenced by the harsh words of the Devī on this account. In a cave inscription[17] from the Triśirapalli rock, Pārvatī, who has come to reside by the Kāverī, is enchanted by her beauty and is afraid lest her husband, a lover of rivers as he is, becomes enamoured of the young dame. So she reminds him that this Kāverī is the beloved of another (i.e., of the king), so that she must not be desired by Śiva. The system of a son-in-law's making home with the father-in-law (*gṛha-jāmātṛtva*) was not unknown to the gods. The Chateswar (Cuttack District) temple inscription[18] (13th century A. D.) describes the ocean as the father-in-law in whose house Hari makes his home.

Śiva's household has been described in the *Halāyudha-stotra* inscribed on the Amareśvara temple.[19] Besides his bull, there is also a cow which is the well-known Kāmadhenu roaming in Śiva's fields. There is a tree by the side of his cottage. It is the Kalpa-vṛkṣa. In that house, Pārvatī is the mistress. She is a careful housewife and is always mindful of her household duties. In the Mandasor stone pillar inscription[20] (c.525-35 A.D.) of Yaśodharman, Śiva's bullock gets all the care in

16 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 130.

17 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 59.

18 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, No. 16. [In the well-known stanzas referring to the construction of the Puruṣottama-Jagannātha temple at Purī by Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga, found in the copper-plate records of his descendants, the god is said to have been happy to have the new abode because continuous stay at the father-in-law's place was considered by him undignified while his wife (Lakṣmī) also preferred to live at her husband's new house rather than in her father's. See, e.g., *ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 251-52, verse 28.—Ed.]

19 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV, No. 17.

20 Cf. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions* (2nd ed.), p. 418.

the world from the mistress of the house, who imprints on him the marks of auspiciousness with her five fingers.

Sūrya's household has been described in a eulogy composed by Chittapa in an inscription[21] (11th century A.D.) from Bhilsa. The sky is the Sun-god's home. He is the lord and master there. He is the hero dallying with many ladies while the household chores are done by the hard-working mistress of the house, Uṣas who rises before dawn and retires late at night. Viṣṇu in one inscription[22] is represented as a great cultivator. In another,[23] he is the sacrificial boar.

The recreations of the gods are mentioned in some inscriptions, water-sports being one of them. The seven oceans are said to be the favourite lake in which Gaṇapati comes down to play.[24] It is also frequented by Bhū and Varāha-Viṣṇu according to many inscriptions. The gods play with *kanduka* or ball, according to the Panchadharala pillar inscription[25] (Śaka 1325) of the Kona king Coḍa III. Playing at dices is another of the gods' vices. An inscription[26] of the Reḍḍis of Koṇḍavīḍu depicts Śiva as delighted at the opportunity of having a close view of [the breasts of] the goddess who has won, in a game of dice with her husband, his head-gear, the digit of the moon, which she is attempting to take out, so that the god wants as much delay as possible in the process.

The Khandela inscription[27] (807 A.D.) mentions some festival or celebration to which Hari took Skanda and Gaṇapati for their entertainment. Śiva, who had become very amorous seeing the luscious beauty of Bhavānī, availed himself of this opportunity and in a fit of passion embraced her so as to make her a part of himself. This is how the Ardhanārīśvara form of Śiva is explained here by the poet.

21 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 219.
22 Cf. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, p. 18.
23 *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 231.
24 *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 18.
25 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, No. 25.
26 *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 324.
27 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 162.

In the Barrackpur plate[28] of Vijayasena, Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa, while playing in the Gaṅgā on their father's head, just like two village boys of Bengal, see the digit of the moon in the matted hair and catch hold of it, taking it to be a *sapharī* fish entangled in a mass of aquatic weeds. Though the two brothers quarrel here for the *sapharī* fish, yet another inscription[29] from the Krisharajapet Taluk tells us of the good relationship between them.

The Chebrolu inscription[30] (c. Śaka 1135) of Jaya describes Gaṇeśa, the musician, as the son of a great dancer, keeping rhythm with his father's dance by the beat of time with his trunk on the waters of the Mandākinī in which he comes down for water-sports in the evening.

Śiva's *tāṇḍava* dance is mentioned in many records. The Chandrehe inscription[31] (Kalacuri 724) of Prabodhaśiva speaks of Śiva's skill in practising the *cārī* step in dancing, his dance having put to flight the elephants of the cardinal points (*dig-vāraṇa*) on account of the revolutions of his rod-like arms, and accompanied by the deep sound of the *ḍamaru,* also suddenly causing commotion in parts of the universe.

The dancer's profession was perhaps then not looked down upon by respectable people. An inscription[32] (1318 A. D.), from Kalageri in South India, compares the beauty of the goddess Viśvambharā (Earth), on the tusk of the Boar form of Viṣṇu, with that of a professional dancer. In the Motupalli pillar inscription[33] (1244-45 A. D.) of Gaṇapatideva, Sarasvatī is described as dancing on the stage of four tongues of the god Brahman.

Viṣṇu's favourite instrument was the Indian flute. In an inscription[34] (1655 A.D.) from the Tarikeri Taluk he is desecrib-

28 *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 282.

29 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV, p. 163.

30 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 144.

31 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, No. 23.

32 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV, p. 39.

33 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, No. 22.

34 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, p. 215.

ed as *veṇunāda-vinodin*, i.e., delighting in the music of the flute.

References to dramatic performances by divine actors on the stage of the universe are hinted at in some inscriptions. Thus in two *maṅgala-ślokas* in the Kumbhalgarh inscription[35] (Vikrama 1517), Śiva and Gaṇapati are shown in the role of the *sūtradhāra*. Śiva's fame as the great actor (*naṭarāja*) is also well-known. Brahman sings the *Sāma* songs according to the Lohagram inscription[36] (933-34 A. D.).

The gods have different roles to play. Purandara is the king of heaven. Kārttikeya is the *senāpati* or commander-in chief. The gods also, like the morals, have their own courtiers (*pāriṣadāḥ*) and followers. Sometimes they have to fight with the demons. They use chariots[37] and horses, bows and arrows'[38] *śūlas* and *pāśas*.[39] The picture of the Sun-god as a warrior on horseback has been brilliantly drawn in the Gupta inscriptions.[40] Defence from behind a water-fort (*surasarid-durga*) is preferred by Candra as he is afraid of an attack by Rāhu.[41]

Candra is a Brāhmaṇa by caste. Hence he performs sacrifices.[42] Viṣṇu in his Vāman-āvatāra is a Brahmacārin.[43] There are many instances in the inscriptions of one god worshipping another. In the process of worship, obeisance and *nīrājana-prakriyā* are often mentioned,

Even in the community of the gods, usually wealthy, there is a well-known beggar—Śiva.[44] Yet Śiva is worshipped by the gods because he is a great *yogin*.

35 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, No. 44.
36 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 249.
37 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, No. 32; Vol. XI, No. 33.
38 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, No. 8; Vol. XXIV, No. 44.
39 *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, No. 9; Vol. XXIV, No. 44.
40 *CII*, Vol. III, No. 37.
41 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, No. 17.
42 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 148.
43 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XIV, p. 45.
44 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, No. 11.

As the Brāhmaṇas are held in high esteem and receive valuable gifts, Candra receives the earth in the form of its shadow (during the eclipse of the moon). In the Mandhata plates[45] (1229 A.D.) of Devapāla, even Paraśurāma, an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, donates the earth to the Brāhmaṇas by writing the deed on the copper-plate that is the sun. The reference is to the popular belief that the Kṣatriyas, killed in battle by Paraśurāma, must have gone to heaven through the Sun (*sūrya-loka*) and thus made it copper-coloured with their blood.

Thus the story of the hopes and beliefs and the way of life of the Indian people have been reflected in the mythology of Sanskrit inscriptions.

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45 *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, No. 13.

XIII

SOUTH INDIANS IN BENGAL

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There are numerous instances of the migration of clans from North India to the South and from South India to the North. Among the Northern clans settled in the South, we are first reminded of the Ikṣvākus of Vijayapurī in the Nagarjunikonda valley (Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh) and the Kekayas of the Chitradurga (Chitaldrug) region of Mysore, since they appear to have been scions respectively of the Ikṣvāku house of Kosala ruling from Ayodhyā and Śrāvastī in U. P. and the Kekayas of Girivraja-Rājagṛha on the Jhelam in the Punjab, both famous in the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[1] Likewise, the Abastanoi or Sambastai (Ambaṣṭha) and Siboi or Sibae (Śibi) are located by Alexander's historians (fourth century B. C.) in the Punjab, the former on the Lower Chenab and the latter in the Shorkot area of the Jhang District;[2] but the Ambastai (Ambaṣṭha) are placed by Ptolemy (second century A. D.) in his Geography[3] near Mt. Bettigo (i.e. the Malaya comprising the Travancore hills) in the Kerala-Tamilnadu region, while the *Daśakumāracarita* (about the seventh century A. D.) locates the Śibis on the banks of the Kāverī.[4] Among such other instances, very interesting is the case of the Pāṇḍyas of Madurai (Mathurā), whose name is derived by Kātyāyana (fourth century B. C.) in his *vārttika*[5] from *Pāṇḍu* in the sense of the king of that clan just as Paurava is derived from Pūru, the name Pāṇḍu being applied to a North Indian clan not only

1 Sircar, *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, 1939, pp. 9ff., 313ff.

2 Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 1938, pp. 200, 204–05.

3 VII. 1.66.

4 See Sircar, *Soc. Adm. Anc. Med. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 195 and note.

5 On Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 4.1.168.

in the stories of the *Mahābhārata* and the Jātakas,[6] but also in Ptolemy's *Geography*.[7] Kātyāyana's statement regarding the relationship between the Pāṇḍyas of the South and the Pāṇḍus of the North seems to be supported by the fact that the Pāṇḍya capital was named after the famous city of Mathurā in the country of the Śūrasenas, which is known from the *Mahābhārata* to have been the seat of a clan that was intimately associated with the Pāṇḍus of Indraprastha by ties of friendship and marriage. Raychaudhuri is right when he says that the connection between the Pāṇḍus, the Śūrasenas and the Pāṇḍyas is alluded to in the confused stories narrated by Megasthenes about Heracles and Pandaia.[8]

Among the Southern clans settled in North India, we had occasion to discuss elsewhere the various Northern settlements of the people of Karṇāta origin.[9] In the following lines we are inclined to deal with another aspect of the problem.

Kings of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihar had intimate relations with South India. King Dharmapāla (c. 770–810 A.D.) married Rannādevī, daughter of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Parabala, often identified with the ruler of the same name whose pillar inscription at Pathari (in the Bhopal region, M. P.) is dated Vikrama 917=861 A.D.[10] Dharmapāla's son and successor Devapāla (c. 810-50 A. D.) seems to be called Hāravarṣa in Abhinanda's *Rāmacarita* and this *varṣa*-ending name, quite uncommon in the Pāla genealogy, probably exhibits the influence of Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭa names like Dhārāvarṣa, Amoghavarṣa, Prabhūtavarṣa, Nityavarṣa, Akālavarṣa, etc.[11] King Rājyapāla

6 See Malalasekera, *DPPN*, s. v. *Paṇḍu, Paṇḍū*. The Pali name of the Pāṇḍyas is both Pāṇḍiya and Paṇḍū.

7 VII. 1.46. The Pandoouoi are located on the Bidaspes or Jhelam.

8 *Op. cit.*, p. 272. A Jain tradition in the *Nāyādhammakahā* refers to Madurai on the shore of the Southern Sea as founded by the five Pāṇḍavas under Kṛṣṇa's advice. Its eeho is traceable in the *Antagadadasāo* and probably in Megasthenes. See *IHQ*, Vol. XV, 1939, pp. 464ff.

9 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 248ff. ; *Soc. Adm. Anc. Med. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 137ff.

10 Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XXV, pp. 132ff.

11 See Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 304.

(c. 910-42 A.D.), great-grandson of Devapāla, married Bhāgyadevī, daughter of Tuṅgadeva of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty, who is sometimes identified with Śubhatuṅga Kṛṣṇa II (879-914 A.D.) or the latter's son, Prince Jagattuṅga.[12] Some of the Pāla kings are known to have married princesses of the Kalacuri dynasty of the Jabalpur region, which had intimate matrimonial relations with the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Thus Lajjā queen of Vigrahapāla I (c. 850-54 A. D.), and Yauvanaśrī, queen of Vigrahapāla III (c. 1055-82 A. D.), belonged to the Kalacuri family.[13] It is well known that there was continuous matrimonial relationship between the Kalacuris and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. We also know that the South Indian relations often received appointments under the Pālas. Thus Mahaṇa or Mathana, the maternal uncle of king Rāmapāla (c. 1085-1130 A. D.), was the governor of Aṅga (East Bihar), while Mahaṇa's sons Suvarṇa and Kāhnura and his brother's son Śivarāja were the leaders of Rāmapāla's forces that fought successfully against the Kaivarta ruler Bhīma of North Bengal.[14] Mahaṇa's daughter was married to Devarakṣita of another Karṇāṭa family established at Bodhgaya.

In this connection, reference has also to be made to the fact that the Pāla charters mention the Karṇāṭas and Coḍas among the peoples who served the Pāla kings in capacities apparently including the role of mercenary soldiers. Thus among the charters of Dharmapāla, the Khalimpur plate[15] has no such list, though the Nalanda plate[16] mentions the Gauḍa, Mālava, Khasa, Kulika and Hūṇa peoples while, from the time of Devapāla, the Pāla charters mention the Gauḍas, Mālavas,

12 *Ibid.*, pp. 298, 330.

13 *Ibid.*, pp. 337ff. It is difficult to say-whether the sister of Mahaṇa, who was Rāmapāla's mother, was a Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess or a princess of the Kalacuri or some other family, whose mother sprang from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty. In the second alternative, Mahaṇa would be a cousin of Rāmapāla's mother.

14 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 243ff.

15 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 291.

16 See, e.g., Maitreya, *Gauḍalekhamālā*, pp. 39, 61, 96.

Khasas, Hūṇas, Kulikas, Karṇāṭas and Lāṭas,[17] and in the Manahali plate[18] of Madanapāla (943-62 A.D.), we have likewise the mention of the peoples called Gauḍa, Mālava, Coḍa, Khasa, Hūṇa, Kulika, Karṇāṭa and Lāṭa. It appears that there was a Karṇāṭa contingent in the Pāla army from the days of Devapāla and that a Cola contingent was added to it at a later date.

In the Deopada inscription of king Vijayasena (c. 1097-1159 A.D.) of Bengal, his remote ancestor Vīrasena is described as born in the lunar race of Dākṣiṇātya kings, and Vijaya's grandfather, Sāmantasena, as sprung from the Sena family and as an ornament of the clan of the Brahma-Kṣatriyas who fought for the royal fortune of Karṇāṭa and also as settled in his old age in the land watered by the Ganges.[19] In the Barrackpur plate[20] of the same king, Sāmantasena of the lunar race is represented as a Kṣatriya while the said ruler is stated in the Naihati plate of Ballālasena (c. 1159-79 A. D.), son of Vijayasena, to have descended from princes of the lunar race, who became ornament of the Rāḍhā country. The Madhainagar and Bhowal plates[21] of Ballāla's son Lakṣmaṇasena (c. 1179-1206 A.D.) state that Sāmantasena was the crest-jewel of the Kṣatriya clan of Karṇāṭa. It is quite clear from the above passages that the Senas came from Karṇāṭa in the Deccan and settled in Rāḍha in South-West Bengal. It may be noticed that Ballāla, who had a typical Kannaḍa name, married Rāmadevī, described as born in the family of the Cālukya

17 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 153.

18 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 309, verses 4–5 and 8 ; N. G. Majumdar, *Ins. Beng.*, Vol. III, pp. 46–47.

19 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 282, verses 3–4 ; N. G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 61–62.

20 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 159, verses 3–4 ; N. G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 61–62.

21 N. G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 109–10, verse 4 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 5.

kings.[22] According to Bengal traditions, the Senas were merged in the local Vaidya or Kāyastha community.[23]

Vijayasena ousted the Pāla king Madanapāla from wide areas of Bengal and transferred his capital to Vikramapura in the present Dacca District of East Pakistan. The discovery of an image inscription of Ballāla's ninth regnal year at Sanokhar in the Bhagalpur District,[24] the references to Lakṣmaṇa's victory over the king of Kāśi (i.e. the Gāhaḍavāla monarch)[25] and to his son's raising pillars of victory at Viśveśvara's *kṣetra* (Vārāṇasī) and Triveṇī (Prayāga or Allahabad)[26] and the earliest use of the Lakṣmaṇasena-saṁvat in the Gaya region[27] suggest that the Senas succeeded in extending their political influence over Bihar and in invading Eastern U. P. Lakṣmaṇasena was ousted from the western areas of his dominions by the Turkish Musalmans, but continued to rule over East Bengal where he was succeeded by his son Viśvarūpasena (c. 1206-20 A.D.). According to Minhājuddīn's *Tabaqat-i-Nāsirī*, the descendants of Lakṣamaṇasena were ruling in East Bengal in 1242-45 or 1260 A.D.[28] They were overthrown by the Devas who issued charters from Vikramapura in the last quarter of the thirteenth century A.D.[29]

It is interesting to note that, when Vijayasena established Sena suzerainty in Bengal, his Karnāṭa contemporary Nānya-deva founded a kingdom in Tīrabhukti, i.e. Tirhut or North Bihar. The Karṇāṭas of North Bihar ruled for several centuries and their territories sometimes included parts of

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22 N. G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 110, verse 9; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 6.

23 See Sircar, *Stud. Soc. Adm. Anc. Med. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 29, 317; *Hist. Beng.*, Vol. I, pp. 632–33.

24 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 78.

25 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 6 (verse 11); also N. G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

26 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 322 (verse 12); N. G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 122–23 (verse 13), 135 (verse 12), 144 (verse 14).

27 Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 272.

28 *IHQ*, Vol. XXIX, p. 73.

29 Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 169ff.

Nepal. It has to be remembered that, when several small chieftaincies and big kingdoms under South Indians were flourishing in the Bengal-Bihar region, they must have been patronising South Indians in the same way as the Muslim rulers of India entertained Musalmans of other countries at their courts. The Karṇāṭa ruling families of Rāḍha, Vikramapura and Tīrabhukti and the others mentioned above in connection with the Pālas must have considerably influenced the socio-religious life of Eastern India, though the question has not yet been properly studied.

It has of course been noticed that Ballāla is credited, in some Kulapañjī works, with the institution of Kulīnism in Bengal, though the claim does not appear to be supported by the evidence of epigraphic records.[30] It is also recognised that the Senas were responsible for the revival of Brāhmaṇism after the Buddhist rule of the Pālas.[31] Ballāla's *Dānasāgara* and *Adbhutasāgara* and Halāyudha's *Brāhamaṇasarvasva* are characteristic products of the Sena age. The impact made by the South Indian settlers in the East Indian territories under the South Indian rulers on the culture of the local people requires careful consideration.

A large number of images of Śiva Naṭarāja (i.e. Dancing Śiva), called Naṭṭeśvara or Narteśvara in the inscriptions of the Candra kings of South-East Bengal, who ruled contemporaneously with the Pālas, have been found in the Dacca and Tippera Districts of East Pakistan. While dealing with these images in his *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, N.K. Bhattasali observes, "Southern India is particularly rich in the images of the Dancing Śiva. In Northern India, these images are scarcely met with. Many images of the Dancing Śiva have, however, been discovered from the South-Eastern Districts of Bengal. How Bengal, especially the present Dacca and Tippera Districts, came to

30 *Hist. Beng.*, Vol. I, pp. 629ff.

31 *Ibid.*, pp. 228-29.

share this peculiarity with Southern India, is an interesting problem of history. On the pedestal of an image of Naṭarāja-Śiva, the name of the god has been found inscribed as Narteśvara. It is interesting to note that in the suburbs of ancient Rampal (Dacca Dist.) several images of Naṭarāja-Śiva have been discovered, and a village in the vicinity is still called Nāṭeśvar. An image of Naṭarāja-Śiva is still worshipped in a village called Nāṭghar in the Tippera District." [32] It seems to us that the cult of the Dancing Śiva was introduced in Bengal by some South Indian (especially Tamilian) settlers who migrated to the region during the age of the Pālas.

An inscription of the Cola king Kulottuṅga III (1178-1216 A.D.) states how the ancestors of the Iḍaṅgai (left-hand) communities settled in the Tamil country during the rule of a mythical king named Arindama who is said to have imported a large number of learned and pious Brāhmaṇas from Antarvedi, i.e. the land between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā. It is stated that the ancestors of the Iḍaṅgai classes (98 in number according to a later record) accompanied the said Antarvedi Brāhmaṇas as the bearers of their slippers and umbrellas and received five villages which now lie in the Tiruchirapalli District.[33] No student of the social history of Bengal can fail to notice the close resemblance of the above tradition with the well-known Kulapañjī account of the importation of the Kulīna or high class Brāhmaṇas from Kānyakubja (in the same Antarvedi country), or a place called Kolāñca or Kroḍāñca in U. P., together with their five Kāyastha servants (carrying the Brāhmaṇas' slippers and umbrellas) by king Ādiśūra of Bengal. There is evidence to show that learned Brāhmaṇas of U. P. were held in very high esteem by the local Brāhmaṇas

32 See pp. 110-11. The Dancing Śiva is called Naṭṭeśvara in the Bharella image inscription of Laḍahacandra (c. 1000-20 A. D.) and Narteśvara in the Mainamati plate of his son Govindacandra (c. 1020-45 A. D.). See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 349ff.; *Pakistan Archaeology*, No. 3, 1966, pp. 22ff.

33 K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas*, 2nd ed., pp. 550-52; Sircar, *Stud. Soc. Adm. Anc. Med. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 29.

in North Bihar and Bengal, and we have elsewhere shown how the social prestige resulting from matrimonial relations with the U. P. Brāhmaṇas gave rise to the system known as Kulīnism and the custom of preparing and preserving Kulapañjīs in the said regions.[34] We had also occasion to refer in the same connection to other South Indian traditions regarding the import of Brāhmaṇas from Ahicchatra (modern Ramnagar in the Bareilley District, U. P.) by other mythical kings like Mayūravarman and Trilocana-pallava.

The Ādiśūra tradition in the Kulapañjīs cannot be traced earlier than the late medieval period, while the very similar Arindama legend is at least as early as the twelfth century A.D. It is therefore very probable that the Arindama story regarding the import of U. P. Brāhmaṇas to the South was carried to Bengal by some Tamilian settlers migrating to Bengal during the age of the Pālas and Senas, and that it later appeared in the Kulapañjīs as the Ādiśūra legend about the import of Brāhmaṇas from the same region to Bengal. The development of the Ādiśūra story in the Kulapañjīs thus appears to be one of the results of the settlement of South Indians in Bengal in the Pāla-Sena epoch.[35]

The Vaidyas of Bengal represent a small professional caste of physicians whose crystalisation as a social group seems to have begun in the age of the later Pālas, i. e. about the eleventh century A. D.[36] This caste is identified with the ancient Ambaṣṭha-jāti in the Vaidya Kulapañjī entitled *Candraprabhā* (1675 A.D.) by Bharata-mallika, the famous Vaidya scholar of Bengal. That the Vaidyas were regarded as Ambaṣṭhas as early as the sixteenth century A. D. is indicated by the *Sūrjanacarita* which describes its Vaidya author Candraśekhara as 'a Gauḍa Ambaṣṭha'.[37]

Outside Bengal, the professional class of physicians does

34 See Sircar, *Stud. Soc. Adm. Anc. Med. Ind., op. cit.*, pp. 21ff.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 30.

36 *Ibid.*, pp. 119-20; see also *Hist. Beng.*, Vol. I, ed. Majumdar, p. 590.

37 Sircar, *Stud. Soc. Adm. Anc. Med. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 113.

not usually represent a social group. Only in Tamil Nadu and Kerala, the barbers, who are surgeons, are called both Vaidya and Ambaṣṭha (Ambaṭṭan) and it is interesting to note that, while Ptolemy's *Geography* (VII. 1. 67) places the Ambastai (Ambaṣṭha) near Mt. Bettigo or the Malaya range (Travancore hills), high royal officers of the Karṇāṭa and Pāṇḍya kings are mentioned as belonging to the Vaidya family (*anvaya*) in such early records as the Talamanchi plates of 660 A. D. as well as the Annamalai, Velvikudi and Madras Museum inscriptions of about 869-70 A.D.[38] It appears that the Ambaṣṭhas mentioned by Ptolemy are identical with the Vaidyas of the Karṇāṭa-Pāṇḍya inscriptions and that the present day Ambaṣṭha-Vaidyas of Tamil Nadu and Kerala are their descendants. On the basis of these facts we have elsewhere sugggested that some Ambaṣṭha-Vaidyas of South India migrated to Bengal in the early medieval period and merged themselves in the local physician classes so as to develop ultimately into the Bengali Vaidya community.[39]

Another question to which attention of scholars may be drawn is the close similarity of certain medieval features of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism with the Bhakti cult of both the Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas in Tamil Nadu and Karnatak during the ancient and medieval periods. The Ālvārs were Bhaktas of Viṣṇu and the Nāyanārs of Śiva in the Tamil Nadu and Kerala regions during the early period while the Vīraśaivas and Haridāsas of Karṇāṭa were devotees respectively of Śiva and Viṣṇu during the medieval age. The Ālvār Kulaśekhara preached complete and unreserved surrender to god while Tiruppān Ālvār and Toṇḍaraḍippodi seek the grace of God through *Dāsya-bhāva.* Periy-ālvār and his foster daughter Āṇḍāl revel in the love of God by identifying themselves respectively with the mother and spouse of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa.[40]

38 See *ibid.*, p. 118, note 2; p. 318.

39 *Ibid.*, p. 118.

40 *The Bhakti Cult and Ancient Indian Geography*, ed. Sircar, p. 78.

Very similar to Āṇḍāl's approach is the *Nāyaka-Nāyakī-bhāva*, preached by Tirumaṅgai and Namm-ālvār in their songs, in which they assume the attitude of female lovers regarding God as their husband, and a distinguished scholar has observed, "There seems to be some possible relationship between the *Nāyaka-Nāyakī* aspect of Bhakti referred to above and particular aspects of Bhakti in certain schools of thought in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. In fact, Tamil Vaiṣṇavism with its predominant *Nāyaka-Nāyakī* or love aspect of Bhakti seems to contain the germs of the later concepts of *Svakīyā* and *Parakīyā* love of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism."[41] The same scholar again refers to the close similarity between this concept of *Parakīyā* love in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism of the Caitanya school and the *Nāyaka-Nāyakī-bhāva* of Bhakti in Tamil Vaiṣṇavism of the Ālvārs and says, "Here is a case of parallelism indeed, though it may be difficult to assert that the one was necessarily a development of the other."[42] But what we have said above about the migration of Tamilians into Bengal during the Pāla-Sena age would render it possible to think that the germs of the *Svakīyā-Parakīy* concept were carried to Bengal by the South Indian migrants.

Another distinguished scholar traces the indebtedness of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism to the Madhva school of Karṇāṭa and says, "The Caitanya school of Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal owes its inspiration to this Vyāsa-tīrtha who is said to have initiated Caitanya, its founder. The celebrated followers of Caitanya like Rūpa Gosvāmin and Jīva Gosvāmin have derived many important points of their philosophy from the writings of Madhv-ācārya, which they often quote."[43]

Indeed the Bhakti cult of Karṇāṭa reached its culmination in the Haridāsa movement which was initiated by Madhv-ācārya in the thirteenth century and attained its grandeur in the sixteenth. The Haridāsas preached their doctrine of sup-

41 *Ibid.*, p. 79.

42 *Ibid.*, p. 81.

43 *Ibid.*, p. 101.

reme devotion and love and self-surrender through the medium of *Kīrtanas*, i.e. lyrical verses in Kannaḍa, which could be melodiously sung—an approach introduced by Narahari-tīrtha (13th century) and reinforced by Śrīpādarāya (15th century) and Vyāsatīrtha (16th century).[44] Considering the importance of the same type of *Kīrtana* in the Caitanyite Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal, it is probable that the inspiration was received from Karṇāṭa. But, at the same time, it appears that the medieval Vaiṣṇavism of both Karṇāṭa and Bengal was indebted for inspiration to Tamil Vaiṣṇavism of the Ālvārs and Ācāryas.

44 *Ibid.*, p. 98.

XIV

SOURCES OF SLAVERY IN ANCIENT CAMBODIA

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The majority of Cambodian inscriptions record gifts of slaves to the temples and their priests made by kings and members of the aristocracy. One gets the impression that the economy of Cambodia depended, if not entirely at least to a very large extent, on slave labour. In this connection, an inquiry into the sources of slavery may be useful. These sources may be divided broadly into two classes, viz., primary and secondary. The primary sources explain in what different ways a free man could reduce himself to slavery. The secondary sources, on the other hand, do not explain the phenomenon of slavery as such, but indicate the various means by which over and above those mentioned under the heading primary sources, an individual could acquire slaves. Finally, it may be interesting to point out the absence from epigraphy of certain primary sources of slavery known elsewhere, particularly India.

It appears that from the very beginning of the history of Fou-nan, the predecessor State of Tchen-la or Kambuja, slaves were procured mainly from the prisoners of war or those captured in the course of predatory raids. The *History of the Southern T'si* states : "The people of Fou-nan are wicked and wily. They take by force the inhabitants of neighbouring cities, who do not pay them homage, to make them slaves."[1] Epigraphy only confirms the observation contained in the Chinese annals. In the lists of slaves given in inscriptions, mention

1 Paul Pelliot, 'Le Fou-nan', *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient (BEFEO)*, Vol. III, pp. 261–62 ; reproduced also in George Coedes's *Les Etats hindouises d'Indochine et d'Indonesie* (1964 ed.), pp. 114-14.

is often made of foreign ethnic and geographical names. There is little doubt that bearers of these names had to be captured first in order to be reduced to slavery. To take some examples at random from pre-Aṅkorian epigraphy, reference may be made to the Loṅvek inscription[2], in which king Jayavarman I orders a servant named Pu Neṅ to bring him 400 Vrau slaves. Coedes suggests that Vrau is identical with modern Prou which is the name of an aboriginal people of Cambodia.[3] In this particular context, however, the word may also be taken to be a variant of the Bahnar *praiḥ* which means '[living being] which is in its normal condition or which can again attain that state'.[4] But the identification with the Prou is without doubt more satisfactory. Besides it fits in well with other cases where the word occurs. Thus, it forms part of the name of a female slave in the Tūol Aṅ Khvāv inscription (7th century A.D).[5] The inscriptions from Phkām[6] and from Thma Kre (624 A.D.)[7] mention a *vā* (male) slave (Vrau).

Tmonn is another ethnic name found in connexion with the slaves. The queen Jyeṣṭhāryā makes a gift of nine such slaves.[8] While Aymonier takes the name in its actual sense of a backward people of Cambodia,[9] Coedes believes that the name is derived from a verb (evidently *ton*), the meaning of which is still to be determined, and this name of agent has been at the origin of the ethnic name.[10] He, however, does not explain why the name could not have acquired the

2 Coedes, *Les Inscriptions du Cambodge* (*IC*), Vol. II, pp. 116-18 (l. 1).

3 *Ibid.*, p. 117, note 4.

4 Guilleminet, *Dictionnaire Bahnar-Francais*, Vol. II, p. 726.

5 *IC*, Vol. II, p. 196-97.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 24.

7 *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 21 (K.926, ll. 6-7).

8 Inscription of Vat Tasar Moroy (K. 124), *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 171, l.9.

9 'Quelques notions sur les inscriptions en vieux khmer' *Journal Asiatique*, 1883, No. 1, p. 455.

10 *IC*, Vol. III, p. 172, note 7.

ethnic significance at the time when the inscription was issued.

Rmañ (identical with Pāli Rāmañña, modern Mon) is sometimes attached to the names of slaves.[11] Specially intersting, in this connexion, is the mention of a male slave as vā Vrau Ramañ.[12] If our supposition that the word is derived from a Bahnar word is correct, the expression would mean a living male slave of the Ramañ ethnico-linguistic group. But if Vrau is taken in the sense of the aboriginal people called Prou, the question becomes complicated. It may then signify a slave of the Prou tribe, who either resided in the Mon country or spoke a language of the Mon family.[13]

Of the geographical terms which are attached to the names of slaves, the most outstanding is Kling[14] which is derived from 'Kaliṅga.' Since the term signified the Indian settlers in general, it would appear probable that the slaves bearing this name were reduced to slavery after being captured. There seems to be at least one more geographical name ascribed to a slave in a pre-Aṅkorian inscription. Thus Panrad is the name of a male slave.[15] The word seems to be derived from *prāṅ* (dry) and forms the basis of the Sanskrit name Pāṇḍuraṅga (mod. Phanrang).

Epigraphic evidence of reducing the prisoners of war to slavery is not numerous for the Aṅkor period. Perhaps the only reference to this type of slaves is found in the inscription of Prah Ṅgouk. It records that, under the reign of Udayāditya II, the general Saṅgrāma made a donation of 200 slaves to Śrī-Bhadreśvara Śambhu on his victorious return from an

11 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 52 (l. 25); Vol. V, p. 8 (*kñuṁ rmmañ ta kantai*, l. 5).

12 *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 21, 1.7.

13 Nothing is known for certain as regards the language or dialect of the Prou people.

14 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 7-8 (Can Cum); pp. 51-53 (Snay Pol, l. 27); and pp. 196-97 (Tuol Aṅ'Khvav).

15 *Loc. cit.*, Snay Pol, A, l. 13.

expedition.[16] The context leaves no doubt that the men offered to the god were captured in the battle.

If there is a paucity of epigraphic evidence of capture as an original source of slavery, literary testimony is conclusive on the point. Tcheou Ta-kouan, the Chinese envoy who visited the country during 1295-96 A. D., writes : "For slaves, one purchases the savage (mountain) people who do this service."[17] It is clear that before being able to sell these savage mountain people, they had to be taken to captivity by sheer force ; otherwise they could not form the unique source of supply of slaves. This part of the statement of the Chinese emissary, however, is not borne out by epigraphy since we know that, from the time of Sūryavarman I (1102-50 A. D.) onwards, the rank of the slaves was swelled even by people who held such honorofic titles as Teṅ and Loñ.[18]

Next to the above category figures slavery by birth. It is probable that slavery by birth accounted for the majority of the slave population of ancient Cambodia. Inscriptions even of a very early date testify to the fact that children born of

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16 *Loc. cit.*, D, 1. 18 ; *Inscriptions sanskrites du Champa et du Cambodge* (ISCC), No. XVIII, pp. 156, 171.

17 *Memoires sur les coutumes du Cambodge de Tcheou Ta-Kouan, Oeuvres posthumes de Paul Pelliot*, Vol. III (version nouvelle), Section 9, p. 19.

18 The references contained in the inscriptions of Phnoṁ Bayaṅ (K. 852, ll. 6-10, *IC*, Vol. II, p. 267, and K. 850, 11. 9-16, *ibid.*, p. 269) and of Phnoṁ Cisor (11. 13-17, *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 138-39) are not conclusive in the matter while the evidence of the inscription of Prasat Ta An (K. 240, South Door-jamb, 1. 10, *IC.*, Vol. III, p. 77) is only probable. Some definite examples of the degradation of the Loñs and Teṅs to servile condition are furnished by the following inscriptions : *ibid.*, p. 154-55 (K. 54) ; Vol. V, pp. 290-91 (B, ll. 10-17), 296 (ll. 10-15) ; Vol. VI, pp. 313-15 (I, B, ll. 5-10 ; II, 2-6) ; Prasat Kok Po Door-jamb inscription, No. 4, 11. 4-6, *BEFEO*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 413. Besides, even in pre-Aṅkorian times, the autochthonous Khmer (Stele of Prei Mien, K. 18, 1.6, *IC*, Vol. II, p. 146) and the Kling, i.e., the descendants of the Indian immigrants, could be reduced to slavery.

slave mothers became slaves.[19] Thus in the inscription of Stun Crap,[20] Tai Kaṇ-oy and Tai-Kandep, themselves slaves as is indicated by their appellation Tai, were grandmothers respectively of the slaves named Rāma and Kaṁval.[21] The slave children were seldom, if at all, dissociated from their mothers. There appears to be only one example where the sale of a slave woman is not accompanied with the automatic transfer of her child to her buyer. But in this particular case, the term used to signify the woman, *pramaḥ*, may mean a barren woman and not necessarily a woman whose children have been separated from her.[22]

There is thus no doubt as to the prevalence of *jus sanguinis* in the determination of the status of slaves. More difficult it is to ascertain if it was so also with *jus soli.* As a proof of the prevalence of this principle, Miss Bongert. has cited one example.[23] In the inscription of Phnoṁ Kaṇva,[24] the slave Si Varuṇa ran away, but was later captured. By order of king Rājendravarman, he was then returned to the monks of Kanloṅ Kamrateṅ Añ Rājaguhā. Miss Bongert contends that the monks sought to prove not so much the slave status of Si Varuṇa as his position as slave of the god of K. K. A. Rājaguhā. This, she believes, would legitimize their intervention

19 *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8, 47, 104 (C, ll. 15-16), 191-92 ; Vol. III, pp. 42 (ll. 26-35), 57-58 (ll. 4, 6), 62 (ll. 12, 15, 16, 21, etc.) ; Vol. VI, pp. 189, 243-44.

20 K. 693, B, ll. 9-10, *IC*, Vol. V, p. 204.

21 Coedes takes the qualifying word *aji* in its modern sense of 'young men' (*ibid.*, p. 207, note 8). This meaning is not valid here since the slaves were not generally recognized as possessing any personality, at least in the juridical sense of the term. On the other hand, there are many examples in the Khmer inscriptions of the use of the word *aji* in the sense of ancestor (cf. the inscriptions of Tuol Prasat, C, 11. 10-11, *IC*, Vol. II, p. 104 ; Kuk Trapa Srok, B, *ibid.*, pp. 129-30).

22 Inscription of Bantay Prav (K. 222), 1. 3, *IC*, Vol. III, p. 61. See also p. 62, note 2.

23 'Note sur l'esclavage en droit khmer ancien, *Etudes d'histoire du droi privé offertes a Pierre Petot* (Paris, 1959), p. 4 (offprint).

24 *IC*, Vol. III, p. 73 (ll. 5-11).

after having established their competence. It appears to us that the inscription is not much to the point in establishing her thesis. The text says that the monks simply answered to the questions which had been put to them with regard to the circumstances leading to the flight of Si Varuṇa. The monks nowhere try to establish Si Varuṇa's status as slave of the god of K. K. A. Rājaguhā. In fact, *jus soli* did not play any role there. If Si Varuṇa was a slave, it was not because he was born within the domain of the temple of K. K. A. Rajaguhā, a statement which was never questioned, but because his mother as well as all other members of his family were slaves.

That the principle of slavery by birth was widely recognized is confirmed by the evidence of Theou Ta-kouan. According to him, "if any of them (female slaves) becomes pregnant by somebody who is a stranger in the house and gives birth to a child, the master does not bother to know who the father is since the mother does not possess a civil rank and since it is he who profits if she has children."[25] In this passage, while the validity of *jus sanguinis* is admitted, nothing is specifically said about *jus soli*. As a matter of fact, the two principles were in operation together for there is so far no evidence where a slave woman gave birth to a child outside her master's domain, though more emphasis was laid on *jus sanguinis*.

It is interesting to note a point of contrast with what prevailed in India. All the high authorities speak in the first place of slaves born in the house.[26] The emphasis here is more on *jus soli*. One may even say that if one solitary exception is laid aside, these texts do not mention *jus sanguinis* as a factor determining slavery. The exception refers to the *udara-dāsa* of Kauṭilya, which Shama

25 *Loc. cit.*

26 *Gṛhajāta* (Manu, VIII. 415 ; Kauṭilya, III. 13) ; *gṛhejāta* (Nārada, vv. 26-28). For a detailed reference to expressions like *dāsīputto*, *gharadāsiya putto*, *dāsa-dāraka*, *antojāta*, etc., see Devaraj, *L'esclavage dans l' Inde ancienne* (Pondichery, 1957), p. 72.

Sastri translates as 'born slave'.[27] He thus makes no distinction between *gṛha-jāta* and *udara-dāsa* slaves though they are mentioned as separate classes. Monahan, who accepts the translation of Shama Sastri, thinks that, while *udara-dāsa* refers to an original source of slavery, *gṛha-jāta* signifies only one way of procuring slaves from the master's point of view.[28] Devaraj, who has prepared a comparative list of the different categories of slaves mentioned by Kauṭilya, Manu and Nārada, believes that *udara-dāsa* signifies one who has accepted slavery in exchange of food.[29]

How can the difference between the Cambodian epigraphic evidence, which recognizes explicitly only *jus sanguinis*, and the Indian texts, which emphasize the importance of the *jus soli* for the determination of the status of slaves, be explained ? It is possible that in India, at least from the post-Maurya period onwards, slavery was only domestic and consequently a slave woman could give birth to a child only within the house of the master. In Cambodia, on the other hand, all land, particularly which belonged to the gods and their priests, were exploited by slave labour. Thus, the large majority of slaves attached to agricultural production lived outside the master's household. Under such circumstances, the best way of assuring the service of and control on the persons born of slave mothers was the recognition of *jus sanguinis*.

Inscriptions do not attest to the prevalence of one or a few technical terms to indicate this category of slaves. The expression *ku gui ru ta ta pra* occurs in a pre-Aṅkorian inscription.[30] Coedes takes it to be the name of a slave. His opinion is fully justified by the fact that the figure for 'one' is placed immediately after the expression. But one has the right to analyze the grammatical—and therefore more fundamental—

27 *Arthaśāstra*, trans. Shama Sastri (1st ed.), pp. 230 and 232.

28 *Early History of Bengal*, p. 97.

29 *Op. cit.*, p. 91.

30 From Tuol Tramun (K. 852 ; 639 A. D.), 1. 6, *IC*, Vol. II, pp. 200-01.

significance of the term. It may be remembered that the expression *ru ta tā pra* occurs in the Sdok Kak Thoṁ inscription where, according to Finot, it means 'as before'.[31] Dupont understands it in the sense of 'following the established order'.[32] The idea of continuity from the past is common in both of these translations. Therefore, when it appears in the context of an enumeration of slaves, it may be taken to mean a slave by tradition, i. e., descended from slave parents.

It is, however, possible that the term contrasts with the expression that follows in the same inscription, viz., *ku gui ru ple kmi.* As will be seen later, this is applied to those who are obliged only to render some service to the master and who can purchase their freedom at will. In that case, *ku gui ru ta tā pra* should mean perpetual slaves, and as such, include many categories other than born slaves.[33]

Slavery as a judicial punishment was known in ancient Cambodia. Inscriptions mention one probable and another sure example of the *daṇḍa-praṇīta* type of slaves, though this technical name is nowhere given to them. To take the probable case first. The inscription of the stele of Kok Can (9th century) contains the following : *mān vraḥ śāsana ruv khñuṁ vraḥ ta dau nā vargga nu jaṁrās phoṅṅ āy teṁ gi ta jā pi khloñ mukha hau pi pre ta gi vraḥ rājakāryya gus......* (ll. 4-7). "There was a royal order. The slaves of the temple belonging to the groups and to the original *jaṁrās* are those whom alone the *khloñ mukha* may call upon to accomplish royal service."[34]

31 *BEFEO*, Vol. XV, No. 2, pp. 312-13.

32 *Ibid.*, Vol. XLIII, pp. 110-11, 113.

33 Even if the expressions *ku gui ru ta tā pra* and *ku gui ru ple kmi* in the particular context of the Tūol Tramuṅ inscription are but the personal names of two slaves, as taken by Coedes, the conclusion arrived at by linguistic analysis of the names holds good.

34 *IC*, Vol. VI, pp. 81-82. It is tempting to offer a little modification of the translation given after Coedes in the following manner: "...there was a royal order concerning the slaves of the temple entrusted with the groups of the *jaṁrā*. The *Khloñ mukha* can call upon only the first of these to accomplish royal service."

The point of interest lies in the word *jaṁrās* probably derived from the root *jrās*, modern Khmer *jamraḥ*, to clear, to purify, to revise, and in judicial language, to judge, to deliver a sentence. It is in its popular sense that the word is used in the inscription of temple No. 486 at Aṅkor Thoṁ.[35] It is, however, the technical meaning which makes Au Chhieng ask the question if *jaṁrās* does not signify those slaves whose terms of service have been fixed by a competent court of justice.[36] But this is, to say the least, hypothetical.

The example which leaves no doubt about the existence of the *daṇḍa-praṇīta* slaves is furnished by the inscription of Tūol Prasat issued during the reign of Jayavīravarman. According to it, Sahadeva Vap Sah won the case in which he accused, along with others, his own maternal uncle of removing the boundary stones from the land which he (Vap Sah) had received from his maternal grandfather. The text then states :

sva-mātāmaha-sūnus=tu Ke-nāmā sa-kulas=tadā /
yācitas=Sahadevena rajñā dattas=sa-bhūmikaḥ //[37]

There is no doubt that the verse means to say that all lands belonging to the maternal uncle of Sahadeva were confiscated and he along with all the members of his family were handed over to Sahadeva by the king as perpetual slaves.

Mortgage has been recognized in ancient Cambodia as a source of slavery. It may be recalled that this type of slaves has been described by Kauṭilya (III. 13) and Nārada (v. 26) as *āhitaka* and *svāmin=āhita* respectively. In Cambodia, the inscription of Tūol Rlaṁ Tiṅ[38] provides us with the technical term *ptā* or *phtā* (literally, to mortgage, to confide an object to somebody) for such operations. But the person mortgaged

35 *BEFEO*, Vol. XXV, p. 308 (Temple No. 486, first of the last three lines).

36 *IC*, Vol. VI, p. 82, note 1.

37 Inscription of Tūol Prasat (K. 158), V. 26, *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 101, 108.

38 *Journal Asiatique*, 1954, pp. 49 ff. Coedes collected in this article other epigraphic references to the word.

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here had been already a slave. The term *pantā* occurs in one of the latest inscriptions found at Bayon ;[39] but here it is not clear whether the V. K. A. Brāhmaṇa mortgaged a certain quantity of paddy, fields, serfs and stables (*aśvavāra*)* to receive in lieu thereof the village (*sruk*) Cāmpa. If such be the case, it would appear that even serfs whose juridical position was higher than that of the slaves, could be given away in mortgage. It is then not difficult to imagine that the slaves could be mortgaged even more easily.

Two more cases of such a transaction can be cited from inscriptions, though, in both these, the technical word *ptā* does not occur. The contract entered between Steṅ Aji Śāntipāda and Steñ Śikhāntar-ācārya in the inscription of Prasat Thnal Chuk[40] seems to have consisted in this that Steṅ Aji Śāntipāda places two of his slaves in the service of Steñ Śikhāntar-ācārya who in return binds himself to supply 1 *liḥ* of husked paddy (*raṅko*) to Nārāyaṇa on the 12th day of each fortnight.[41] It is to be noted, however, that the two persons mortgaged are slaves and as such the operation cannot be regarded as a source of slavery.

It is not so in the other case furnished by an inscription of Bantay Prav.[42] The text states : "Vap Paramaśiva of Gajapura gives his grandson to the Kaṁsteṅ in order to be able to give these so that he (the Kaṁsteṅ) offers them to the divinity." On this sufficiently obscure passage, Coedes remarks : "It seems that the transaction has consisted in this that the Vap gives his grandson to the Kaṁsteṅ in exchange for the slaves named above, then to deliver these slaves to the Kaṁsteṅ so that the latter offers them to the temple."[43] Though the text does not

39 K. 470 ; ruling king Jayavarmadeva Parameśvara ; date 1327 A. D. ; *IC*, Vol. II, p. 188.

* [Sanskrit *aśvavāra* means 'a horseman or groom'.—Ed.]

40 K. 351, ll. 5-8, *ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 191.

41 Not on the 12th of each month, as understood by Coedes.

42 K. 222, ll. 8-9, *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 63.

43 *Loc. cit.*, note 3.

contain here the word for exchange (*tvar*) which occurs in the preceding line, the interpretation of the passage as given by Coedes is plausible. One can simply add that the operation cannot be described as 'conditional sale' as has been understood by Miss Bongert.[44] The Vap borrowed the services of a certain number of slaves belonging to the Kaṁsteṅ and, as guarantee for return of these slaves, mortgaged his grandson. Moreover, it can be surmised that the service which his grandson would render to the Kaṁsteṅ would constitute the equivalent of the interest which could otherwise be charged for the services of the slaves borrowed.

The custom of accepting slavery of the benefactor from whom he has accepted food (*udara-dāsa* of Kauṭilya and *bhakta-dāsa* of Manu, VIII. 415, and Nārada, v. 28) is known to epigraphy. In fact, the name of a slave in a pre-Aṅkorian inscription[45] reads almost like a literal translation of the term used by Manu and Nārada to designate this category of slaves. The name is given as Vā pāy añ (male slave, rice, I) which may be conveniently translated as 'slave for my rice'.

It cannot be ascertained whether slavery of this type became particularly institutionalized during the Aṅkorian period ; but this much may be stated that the term *khñuṁ paṁcyaṁ*, which Coedes translates as 'slave for food,'[46] was apparently much in vogue. The question really arises : to what extent can this expression be taken as denoting a class of slaves ? One does not know if it was not used just as an expression of modesty in denoting oneself or one's ancestors in the service of kings while addressing the king. This, at any rate, seems to be in the inscription of Tūol Koṁnap Ta Kiṅ (Sambor). Vap Dīrgha Hor, author of the inscription, speaks of himself

44 *Op. cit.*, p. 7 : "Il s'agit la d'un contract d'un type special, servant a realiser un pret a interet et prenant la forme d'une vente a remere."

45 Aṅkor Borei (K. 24), 1.5, *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 16.

46 *BEFEO*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 143, note 1. Coedes points out that the form *paṁcyaṁ* as also the root *cyaṁ* is no longer in use. Only the frequentative form *cañcyaṁ* is still current.

as *khñuṁ paṁcyaṁ khñuṁteṁ kamrateṅ kamtvan añ.*[47] The fact that he calls himself at the same time an 'ancient' slave (*khñuṁ teṁ*) rules out the possibility of his remaining a slave at the time when this address was made to the king, probably Sūryavarman I.[48] Again, in the inscription of Prasat Cak, Teṅ Hyaṅ and her husband, Loñ Las, bear this epithet. They are also said to earn their living by singing.[49] So far there can be no inherent difficulty in taking the term *khñuṁ paṁcyaṁ* in its literal sense. But then Teṅ Hyaṅ is a sister-in-law of king Jayavarman III.[50] It is therefore little likely that she and her husband were slaves in the actual sense of the term. It was then an expression of politeness.

This view seems to be further corroborated by Ma Twan-lin who uses the title Kin-p'eou-pin-chen to indicate the king. Coedes has ably demonstrated that the Chinese appellation could not possibly be based on any of the titles of Sūryavarman I. He thinks that the Chinese title is a deformation of the Khmer *khñuṁ paṁcyaṁ* which was used by the subjects to indicate themselves in their address to the king. The Chinese misunderstood its significance and took it to be another royal title.[51]

From the above discussion it should not, however, be concluded that slavery for food did not exist in Cambodia in tke Aṅkor period. Had it been so, the term itself could not

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47 *Ibid.*, p. 142 (1.20).

48 One can, however, legitimately ask whether he was ever a slave since all the four ancestors mentioned by him were connected by blood with the royal family of Parameśvara, i.e. Jayavarman II (*rājakula vraḥ pāda parameśvara*, ll. 7-8 ; *vraḥjanani kaṁmrateṅ añ*, 1.8). It is therefore not impossible that the expression *khñuṁ teṁ* was sometimes used by way of modesty. Applied to Vap Dīrgha Hor, it may mean a servant of the king whose appointment goes back to days before his coronation.

49 K. 521, South Door-jamb, Southern Tower, *IC*, Vol. IV, p. 168. Coedes notes that the reading *camryeṅ* is doubtful.

50 *Loc. cit.*

51 'Nouvelles donnees chronologiques sur la dynastie de Mahīdharapura', *BEFEO*, Vol. XXIX, p. 304.

have come into existence. It is quite conceivable that with reference to private citizens, the term retained its literal meaning ; but in the absence of any such record, the question remains open.

Inscriptions often contain references to *anak āgama*[52] or *khañuṁ* (sic—*khñuṁ*) *āgama*.[53] The difficulty lies with the interpretation of the term *āgama*. According to Aymonier, it signifies 'intimate' or 'near'.[54] But Coedes does dot accept this explanation. He takes it to mean legal acquisition and tradition. Accordingly, *anak āgama* signifies servants who have been acquired in the regular way or who constitute the regular personnel of a temple.[55] It is to be noted that no distinction of status is drawn either implicitly or explicitly between *anak āgama* and *khñuṁ āgama* since the persons mentioned under both the categories bear the same appellations, *si* and *tai*.

This is apparently why Coedes translates *khñuṁ āgama* by 'regular slaves'.[56] Following the line of argument, this may either be the slaves acquired in a lawful manner or the regular personnel of a temple. With regard to the former, the inference is perfectly logical that, whenever an act of donation is not qualified by the word *āgama*, it is to be understood that these were procured by unlawful way. Since the overwhelming majority of such records do not contain this word,[57] such a conclusion will surely be ridiculous. To consider the *khñuṁ āgama* as constituting the regular personnel of a temple will be presumptuous since under this class are included quite a large number of persons such as the *khloñ vnaṁ* (*śail-ādhipati*), *kulā-*

52 Prasat Kantal Dom, 1.29, *IC*, Vol. I, pp. 41, 46; stele of Phimanakas, North Door-jamb, ll. 11-12, *ibid.*, Vol. II, 200-01 ; Prasat Kravaṅ (K. 270), North Door-jamb, 1.26, *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 71.

53 Prasat Kravaṅ (K. 269), 1.4, *ibid.*. p. 74.

54 *Le Cambodge*, Vol. III, p. 15.

55 *IC*, Vol. IV, pp. 69 and 73, note 1 (1.8).

56 *Ibid.*, p. 74, 1.4.

57 The specification by some such word like *nyāyen=opārjjitam (ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 47-48) is rather exceptional.

pati, purohita, yājaka, tapasvin, etc., who were certainly not slaves. Another objection to the acceptance of this interpretation of *khñuṁ āgama* is that it tends to present the slaves more like serfs or even tenants responsible for the maintenance of the temple. In fact, this seems to be the opinion of Coedes. He thinks that *āgama* corresponds to Khmer *mok* (lit. 'to come') which he understands in the sense of a fiscal centre.[58] The slaves may be taken as furnishing the revenue of the *āgama* and hence called *khñuṁ āgama*. The testimony of the inscriptions of Īśvarapura (No.59) and Prasat Praṁ[60] (dated 948 A.D.) prove beyond doubt that *mok* was actually a fiscal unit ; but whether the same is true of *āgama* is not so clear. The fragmentary inscription of the temple No. 486 of Aṅkor Thoṁ (13th century) seems to use the word in the sense of something like inheritance.[61]

This brings us back to consider the term *āgama* in the sense of tradition. *Khñuṁ āgama* may thus mean traditional or inherited slaves. But the inscription of Prasat Kravāñ wherein it occurs speaks of a new foundation (*sthāpanā V. K. A. Śrī-Tribhuvanasvāmī*).[62] It is not therefore possible for it to possess inherited slaves. Besides the inscription of the Northern door-jamb of the Phimanakas clearly distinguishes them from the slaves received by way of inheritance.[63]

It appears to us possible that *anak āgama* or *khñuṁ āgama* signifies those people who accepted slavery of another person without being obliged to do so and perhaps the condition of servitude was limited to a fixed period. These slaves may thus be taken as identical with those whom Nārada calls *tav=āham*

58 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 46, note 4.

59 Finot, *Le Temple d' Īśvarapura*, pp. 116-17.

60 *BEFEO*, Vol. XIII, No. 6, pp. 97ff., v. 36 : *mok-grāme=smin*, 'in this village which constitutes a *mok*'.

61 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV, p. 308. The text as established by Finot is as follows : "*jvan ta vraḥ añ jva nā āgama nai . . . gu se.* This reading should evidently be corrected as *jvan ta vraḥ añ jvan nā āgama nai···gus.*

62 *Loc. cit.*

63 Cf. ll. 2 and 11, Phimanakas, North Doorjamb, *IC*, Vol. III, p. 201.

=*ity*=*upāgata* (v. 27). Some other types of Nārada like *anākāla-bhṛta* and *kṛta* may also be comprised in this category. What is important to note is that in all cases where the inscriptions speak of *anak āgama* or *khñuṁ āgama*, they are nowhere stated to have been purchased or even received as gift. Inscriptions only enumerate such slaves.

There are three other secondary sources by which slaves could be procured, viz., gift (*labdha* of Kauṭilya and Nārada and *dattrima* of Manu), inheritance (*dāy-āgata* of Kauṭilya, *paitrika* of Manu and *dāyād*=*upāgata* of Nārada)[64] and purchase.

There is not one but several terms to signify the slaves received as gift. Thus the inscriptions mention *anak juṁnvan*[65] *kñuṁ pradāna*,[66] and *anak vraḥti praśāda* (received by favour of the king).[67] These slaves were offered by the devout worshippers, both royal and private, to gods and to priests as their honorarium[68] or as gifts on specific occasions[69] or in the course of a *satra*.[70]

The slaves could be given either in proprietary right or with usufructuary right. To signify the former, inscriptions use such terms as *akṣata-dāyaka*[71] (without restriction and not

64 *Loc. cit.*

65 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 41 (Prasat Kantal Dom, North Door-jamb, l.29).

66 *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 69, l.11.

67 Phimanakaś, North Door-jamb, ll.11-12, *loc. cit.*

68 'As honorariums' (*jā vraḥ dakṣiṇā sthāpaka*), inscription of Vat Ek (K. 211), l.8, *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 27 ; stele of Prah Nan (K. 89), ll. 24-25, *ibid.*, p. 166.

69 *ISCC*, No. XLIV, p. 367, vv. 37–38, *IC*, Vol. II, pp. 59-60 (stele of Bassak–Romduol) ; p. 64 (Kompoṅ Thoṁ B, ll. 23-25) ; Vol. III, pp. 35 (Phnoṁ Prah Net Prah, ll.10-11) ; pp. 57-58 (Bantay Prav, K. 221, North Door-jamb of the Central Tower) ; Vol. IV, pp. 69-76 (Prasat Kravāṅ) ; *BEFEO*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 384-85 (Prasat Kak Po, Door-jamb I, ll. 13-14, etc. In fact, such lists can be multiplied *ad nausea.*

70 Sambor Prei Kuk, K. 149, l.26, *IC*, Vol. IV, pp. 28-29.

71 Tarpaṅ Doṅ Oṅ, K. 254, Face C, v. 31, *ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 184-85 :
yen=*aiv*=*oktam*=*ime dāsā n*=*āyattā mat-kul-ādike* /
tat-kṣetrādhipa-vānyai(*ny*=*ai*)*va deveṣv*=*akṣata-dāyakāḥ* //

[*Akṣata* seems to mean *akṣaya*, permanent, i.e., a permanent gift. Cf. *akṣaya-tṛtiyā*=*akṣata-tṛtiyā*, Sircar, *Ind. Ep. Gloss*, p. 15.—Ed.]

subject to the authority of the family of the founder), *siddhi*[72] (exclusive right) and *parigraha* (receiving something in totality).[73] The first possible mention of a gift of the usufructuary right over slaves is mentioned in the pre-Aṅkorian inscription of Phuṁ Koṁvieṅ (658 A. D.),[74] according to which the Mratāñ Devasvāmī makes, among other things, gifts of slaves to the god of Haṁsapura and to V. K. A. Śrī-Kedāreśvara, this latter being his own foundation. The text says that the Mratāñ offers *vera kñuṁ* to the god of Haṁsapura whereas, with regard to his own foundation the inscription unequivocally states *kñuṁ tel oy ta vraḥ.* The word *vera* does not occur in the second instance. Now the word is either identical with or a deformation of Sanskrit *vāra* (time, turn), and the passage *vera kñuṁ man oy ta vraḥ* means 'the service of the slaves which is given to the god'.[75]

The more usual term to convey the idea of service is *ple or phle.* In the pre-Aṅkorian inscription of Prasat Praṁ Loveṅ,[76] the term occurs as an integral part of the name of a slave. The name Ku añ je ple sralañ may be translated as 'myself, a slave (named) the basket of fruit of love'. If no technical meaning is here attached to *ple,* it is not so in Gul ru ple

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72 Cf. stele of Western Baray, *IC,* Vol IV, pp. 59-60. In this pre-Aṅkorian inscription the god Vrah Kamrateṅ Añ Tripurāntakeśvara holds the proprietary right (*siddhi*) over the slaves, cattle, fields and gardens. This interpretation accords well with the modern usage of *sitthi,* one of the meanings of which is exclusive right (*Vacanānukrama,* Vol. II, p. 1349).

73 *IC,* Vol. III, pp. 41-42. That the Mratāñ Khloñ Śrī-Saṁgrāmadāruṇa gives away (*parigraha*) all the slaves to Teṅ Umā in proprietary right can be surmised from the other gift mentioned in the inscription, viz., the dam of Laṅloṅ Veṅ along with the adjacent low lands. For similar use of the word in Indian literature, see Apte, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary,* Vol. II, p. 973.—It is interesting to note that, as early as the 7th century A. D., the inscription of Tan Krañ (v. 16) uses the word *pārigrāha* most probably in the sense of a recruiter (*IC,* Vol. I, p. 9). The word thus might have originally denoted a person charged with procuring gifts for the king.

74 *Ibid.,* Vol. II, pp. 123-24 (A, 6-7 ; B, 3).

75 *Ibid.,* p. 74.

76 *Ibid.,* p. 79, l.7.

kmi, equally the personal name of a slave.[77] The name literally means he who exerts himself (*kmi*) as fruit. As we have already seen, the term may contrast with *gui ru ta ta pra* and indicate by and large all slaves who could regain their freedom.

Epigraphy of the Aṅkorian period mentions side by side with *anak phle* another expression, viz., *khñuṁ phle.*[78] Thus in the inscription of Prasat Car (979 A. D.), the Mratāñ Śrī-Guṇapaṇḍita gives to Kaṁsteṅ Śrī-Rājapativarman a number of *Khñuṁ phle.* A second reference to this type of slaves is made in this inscription when it states that 'a portion of the land of Taṁpuṅ is reserved for the beasts and *khñuṁ phle* who furnish oil to Liṅgapura'. In a note added after the translation of the first passage, Coedes asks, "Does it signify the serfs tied to the land ?"[79] His hypothesis soon takes the form of certitude and he translates the second passage as 'slaves of this land'.[80] As regards the significance of the term occurring in the inscription of Prasat Aṁpil Roluṁ (*IC*, Vol. VI, p. 101, note 2), Coedes observes that the meaning of *phle* is not clear. There is, however, little justification for this statement because, long before his publication of this inscription, it was he who pointed out in connexion with the term *anak phle* : "'*ple* (mod. *phle*) signifying 'fruit', these persons (*anak phle*) constitute 'the usufructuary, the human revenue of the villages

77 *Ibid.*, pp. 200-01, Tūol Tramuṅ (K. 582), 1.6.

78 Prasat Kok Po, Door-jamb V, ll. 70-71, *BEFEO*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 407 ; Prasat Ampil Rolum (K. 162), Text II, 1. 7, *IC*, Vol. VI, p. 101. The stele of Prasat Tnot Cuṁ (K. 143), c, l. 16, (*ibid.*, p. 220) uses the word *sopakāra* (in usufructuary right) to qualify the gift of slaves by the Khloñ Vala.

79 *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 143 and 146, note 1 (K. 257, ll. 23-26).

80 *Ibid.*, p. 147. From the inscription it is not clear whether the Mratāñ held the slaves in usufructuary right. If it was not so, there can be no question of his transferring the proprietary right over these slaves to the Kaṁsteṅ. On the other hand, it may be that the Mratāñ was the full owner of the slaves and transferred only the right of enjoyment of these slaves to the Kaṁsteṅ.

assigned to the temples for their maintenance."[81] By way of analogy, it may be concluded that *khñuṁ phle* denoted those slaves over whom their masters had only usufructuary right. This interpretation of *phle* when used in connexion with the donation of slaves seems to be corroborated by the inscription of Prah Nan[82] (ll. 23-26) which obviously distinguishes between *oy dakṣiṇā* (ll. 24 and 26) and *oy dakṣiṇā phle* (l. 25). Coedes does not seem to recognize this distinction and translates them respectively as 'given as gift' and as 'given as gift·········in recompense'. But the idea of recompense is not really conveyed by *phle*, at least in modern Khmer. Semantically, it can better signify usufructuary right.[83]

The other subsidiary way of procuring a slave was to inherit.[84] The slaves coming under this category are described variously in the inscriptions as *anak mṛtakadhana*[85], *khñuṁ aṁvī ta santāna*,[86] or simply *khñuṁ santāna*.[87] There are, however, many inscriptions which, without giving a technical name, mention slaves as forming part of the family inheritance. One typical example may be cited from the Prasat Kantop inscription (northern door-jamb, ll. 27-28) : "The lands and the

81 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 28, N. 1 (Prah Ko).

82 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 166 (K. 89, ll. 24-26). The inscription bears the date Śaka 924 (1002 A. D.).

83 The same observation may be made with regard to the lands which according to this inscription the master-founder received (ll. 11-12). Here the confusion is complete since Coedes translates *oy dakṣiṇā phle yajña* by 'en cadeau comme honoraires pour le sacrifice' (given in gift as honorarium for the sacrifice).

84 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 168.

85 Stele of Phimanakas, North Door-jamb, l.11, *IC*, Vol. III, p. 201.

86 *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 49 : Prasat Srañe, B, l.34.

87 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 139, D, 14. Literally the expression means 'slaves of the relatives, both descendants and ascendants' (cf. *ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 117, note 1). Does this imply that the family understood as such held the proprietary right over these slaves ? In that case, the passage quoted will indeed contain a very rare reference to domestic and nonreligious slavery in ancient Cambodia. See also the inscription of Phnoṁ Prah Net Prah (K. 216), text No. 1, l.12, *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 38.

slaves that his clan (*gotra*) gives in inheritance to Steñ Mahendrāṇī, all this Steñ Mahendrāṇī gives to his children and grandchildren.'[88]

It is admitted that quite a sizable number of Khmer inscriptions give meticulous details of the price or sale or exchange of slaves. These references, however, only prove the existence of chattel slavery in ancient Cambodia, since they concern people already reduced to slavery. It may be noted also that so far no technical term to designate them specially is found.

Finally, it may be pointed out that the existence of certain sources of slavery is not corroborated by epigraphy. First, there was nothing similar to the *vaḍav-āhṛta* (one who makes himself a slave after being seduced by a slave woman, Nārada, v. 28) type of slave. In the passage already quoted from the account of Tcheou Ta-kouan relating to the birth of a child to a slave woman by a stranger in the house,[89] nothing is said of the degradation of the paramour of the slave woman ; the presumption is that he did not lose his status. Secondly, giving up the life of a religieux did not lead to slavery. Nārada indeed would make us believe that such a person (*pravrajyāvasita*, v. 38) will be a perpetual slave of the king and cannot be redeemed. We have at least one example where the opposite seems to be the social reality. The reference is to the history of Sadāśiva Jayendrapaṇḍita. According to the Sanskrit text of the Sdok Kak Thoṁ inscription, all the priests of the *devarāja* were *yatis*.[90] Scholars are generally agreed that these priests had to take the vow of celibacy.[91] This, however, is not the whole meaning of the term *yati* and, since the word is found in the Sanskrit part of the text, it is better to take it in the sense it is used in Classical Sanskrit. Hence *yati* should

88 *Ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 128, 131.

89 *Loc. cit.*, v. 31, *BEFEO*, Vol. XLIII, p. 79.

90 P. Dupont in his introduction to the inscription of Sdok Kok Thoṁ (*BEFEO*, Vol. XLIII, p. 66).

91 For a different view, cf. Finot, 'Notes d'Epigraphie', p. 280 (*ibid.*, Vol. XV, No. 2). We are inclined to accept the view of Finot.

signify a mendicant who has renounced the world. This view appears to be confirmed by the use of the term *phsik* (to cause to leave the life of a religieux) in the Khmer part of the text[92] which narrates how king Sūryavarman I made him abandon the religious life in order to give him in marriage with the younger sister of his principal queen, Vīralakṣmī. The inscription further states that Sadāśiva now got the name of Jayendrapaṇdita, the rank of *Kaṁsteṅ*, and the function of *rājapurohita* and of *khloñ karmmāntara eka.*[93] Further, there is nothing in the inscription to show that, after his marriage, Sadāśiva lost the position of *purohita* of the *devarāja*, which he had held as a member of the matrilineal family of Śivakaivalya that had the pretension of enjoying the exclusive privilege of furnishing the priests of the *devarāja*. . Instead of being punished with perpetual slavery, Sadāśiva was thus highly rewarded. This departure from the traditional Brāhmaṇical position can perhaps be explained by the intensive incursion of Buddhism in Cambodia since the days of Rājendravarman, and Buddhism permits the abandonment of the life of a *bhikkhu* more than once.[94]

Thirdly, slavery by the sale of a free man by oneself or of a dependant is not known from epigraphy. While there is absolutely no epigraphic evidence of the sale of oneself, folktales, which cannot be dated earlier than the 15th century, know such cases. Thus in the story of the four bald-headed men, the basket-maker and the elephant-driver offer to become the slaves of anybody who would rescue them from the miserable condition in which they fell.[95] Of the sale of a dependant, there is one dubious reference in the inscriptions. This refers to the obscure transaction between Vap Paramaśiva of Gajapura and

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92 4.44, *ibid.*, Vol. XLIII, p. 90.

93 *Ibid.*, 4.45.

94 R. Lingat, *ibid.*, Vol. XXXVII.

95 F. Martini and S. Bernard-Thiery, *Contes populaires inedits du Cambodge* (Collection documentaire de folklore de tous les pays, tome III), p. 191.

the Kaṁsteṅ, already referred to.[96] This, as we have seen, may better be taken as a case of mortgage which resulted in the temporary servitude for the grandson of the Vap ; but this cannot be accepted as an example of outright sale of the child.

Slavery for indebtedness (according to Nārada, *mahataḥ ṛṇāt mocitaḥ* becomes the slave of his benefactor) is also not known from epigraphy, though there are cases where landed property was sold out to accomplish *rājakārya*, i.e., payment of taxes and tributes.[97] Cases of servitude due to indebtedness, on the other hand, is known from folktales. Thus in the story of Thmenh-chey (Dhanañjaya), his mother borrowed some money from the Seṭṭhi and handed over to him her son who became his slave.[98] It may be added that this form of slavery was common in Cambodia till the abolition of slavery in the 19th century.[99] Can it then be stated that absence of epigraphic evidence of slavery due to sale and to indebtedness on the one hand and their occurrence in the folktales on the other is fortuitous ? If it was not so, can it be said that, during the period covered by epigraphy, there prevailed in Cambodia some sort of an interdiction which prevented anybody losing his status of a free man as a result of sale or debt ? It is not, however, suggested that no free-born Khmer could be reduced to slavery. References have already been made to the different original sources of reducing them to slavery. Such terms as Kmer or Kliṅ which form part of the nomenclature of slaves in pre-Aṅkorian inscriptions[100] would prove that both the Indian

96 *Loc. cit.*

97 Prasat Car, North Door-jamb, ll. 16-17, 22, *IC*, Vol. IV, p. 144 ; Prasat Kok Po, Door-jamb III, v. 16 (*bhūpāla-kāryye kṛte...gṛhṇaṁs=tasya dhanāni sampratidadau taṁ kṣetra-saṁkrāntakam*) ; Door-jamb V, ll. 12-13, *BEFEO*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 401, 405.

98 P. Bitard, 'La merveilleuse histoire de Thmenh chey l'Astucieux,' *France-Asie*, Nos. 116-17 (Jan.-Feb., 1956) and 121-122 (June-July, 1956).

99 Adh. Leclere, *Codes cambodgiens*, Section—*Kram Baṁnul.*

100 Ku Kmer in *IC*, Vol. II, p. 146 (1.6) ; for *kliṅ*, see *supra*, note 14.

settlers who belonged, it may be reasonably inferred, to the aristocracy and the autochthonous people of the country could be rendered slaves. The account of Tcheou Ta-kouan, already cited, suggests that no free-born Cambodian could be enslaved. This may be a misstatement. What the Chinese envoy intended to say was perhaps that only the savage mountain people could be purchased as slaves. This may have been the state of things during the Aṅkor period which was also the most glorious period of Cambodian history. In the subsequent period of decline, the Cambodians under political domination of the T'ai people lost their position of dignity and hence could be reduced to slavery by sale or on account of indebtedness.

Supplement

XV

SOCIAL LIFE AS REFLECTED IN MAURYA AND ŚUṄGA TERRACOTTAS*

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In their diversity and spontaneity, the terracottas of the Maurya and Śuṅga age give an insight into contemporary Indian social life. Quite a large number of clay figurines of various types found at ancient sites like Pāṭaliputra, Taxila, Mathurā, Ahicchatra, Kauśāmbī, Tamluk, Chandraketugarh, etc., include those with secular motifs such as the representations of 'Mithuna' and 'Dampati' figures, Bacchanalian scenes, picnic party, joyride on an elephant, musicians, dancing figures, etc., which suggest an age of leisure and dalliance.[1]

The clay figurines of the period under survey, with their varied modes of coiffure, costume and elaborate jewellery, furnish ample material for a study of the fashions current in the society.[2]

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* [The revised copy of the paper was received on 2.12.70.—Ed.]

1 V. S. Agrawala, *Indian Art*, Varanasi, 1965, figs. 230, 233, 234 ; *Marg*, Vol. XXIII, Dec., 1969, fig. 13 ; *Indian Archaeology*, 1957-58, Pls. LXXXV. 5, LXXXV-A ; also *ibid.*, 1954-55, p. 20, Pl. XXXIX.

2 A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, New York, 1965, pp. 20-21, figs. 23, 57, 60 ; Agrawala, *op. cit.*, figs. 224-34 ; also 'Terracotta figurines of Ahicchatra', *Ancient India*, No. 4, January, 1948, Pls. XXXI (11, 16). XXXII (12,14), XXXIII (19, 20, 22), XXXIV (29 to 34) and XXXV (41, 48) ; *Lalit Kala*, No. 6, October, 1959, figs. 1-4, 6, 16-17 ; *Indian Archaeology*, 1957-58, Pls. LXXXIV. 1, XXXVII. 4 ; 1956-57, Pl. LXXXV-A.B.C. ; Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture*, fig. 13 ; S. K. Saraswati, *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, Calcutta, 1957, figs. 71, 73, 82, 85 ; G. R. Sharma, *Excavations at Kausambi*, Pl. 47 (figs. 7-9, 12, 18, 19, 24) ; *Age of Imperial Unity*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, Pl. XXXIV, figs. 84 ; also see Moti Chandra, *Prācīn Bhārtīya Veśbhūṣā* (Hindī).

Both men and women of higher as well as lower castes, rich and poor alike, adorned their bodies with various types of ornaments made of gold, silver, pearls, gems[3] and beads of semi-precious stones besides those of copper and clay ; these seem to have varied according to the financial condition or social status of an individual as also local traditions. The ladies, who were as fond of adornment as they have been in all ages, are shown wearing earrings of various shapes and designs, torques, bracelets, armlets and anklets besides a large variety of necklaces and girdles of several beaded strings. The girdle was extremely popular with the belles and worn over drapery. Other embellishments included a peculiar crossbelt-like ornament known as *cannavira*, a tiara composed of beaded strings worn on the forehead, and a jewel called *cūḍāmaṇi* put on the turban. The men used to wear necklaces of beaded chains, earrings, armlets and wristlets.[4]

It is interesting to note that the adornments of diverse types used by the populace of those days are, with slight variations in shapes and designs, still current among the village folk certain tribes in different parts of India including Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, etc.[5] Though ornaments such as heavy necklaces and bracelets worn by the famous terracotta Yakṣinī from Tamluk (Midnapore District, Bengal), now in the Indian Institute, Oxford, are not in vogue in present-day Bengal, a number of sculptures including those of the Pāla and Sena periods show that such adornments were actually in fashion.[7] The females of the said periods were no

3 *Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 574.

4 K. K. Ganguly, 'Ornaments in Ancient India', *JISOA*, Vol. X, 1942, pp. 142-45.

5 Verrier Elwin, *The Tribal Art of Middle India*, p. 14, figs. 6-31 ; *The Tribal World of Verrier Elwin*, Pls. facing pp. 145, 161, 176, also see Jyoti Sen and P. K. Das Gupta, *Ornaments in India* (in the press).

6 Saraswati, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-15 ; Pl. XIX, fig. 85.

7 Kramrisch, 'Pala and Sena Sculpture', *Rupam*, No. 40, 1929, figs. 25-29, 31, etc. ; Zimmer, *Art of Indian Asia*, Vol. II, fig. 385 ; C. Sivaramamurti, *Indian Sculpture*, fig. 43 ; K. K. Ganguly, *Bāṅglār Bhāskarya* (Bengali), figs. 9-10.

less fashionable than their sisters of today as is evident from the clay figurines with elaborate hair-dresssing and heavy headwears. Men used to wear knotted turbans. It appears to us that such spacious, picturesque and impressive headdresses were put on special occasions such as festivals, fairs, dance performances, etc., a practice current among certain tribes even to this day.[8] The ladies are shown dressed in tunic or nude to the waist, and with a Dhoti or skirt of diaphanous muslin.[9] A few figures appear to be fully dressed in Sari.[10] Of the two interpretations admitted by Johnston regarding the dress of the Tamluk figurine referred to above, the more probable one appears to be that it wears a single garment with flounces, passing over the left shoulder, but leaving the right one bare.[11] Quite a large number of figurines show that the Indian women of all classes went about bare from the waist upwards .The evidence, corroborated by contemporary and later sculptures as well as paintings, "is not only overwhelming, it is absolutely conclusive" and reflects the actual state of things.[12] The male donned a Dhoti, the upper part of the body remaining usually bare. Sleeved coats closed in front by cloth-fasteners also appear to be in fashion. Scarves and girdles were used by both men and women. Two heads from Pāṭnā, one of a boy and other of a girl, illustrate the headdresses put on by the children.

The variety in costume in different regions may be due partially to the original differences in culture and was in part

8 Verrier Elwin, *The Tribal Art of Middle India*, p. 55.

9 Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

10 Kramrisch has referred to a plaque showing the entire costume along with a 'hooped' kind of Dhoti ; see 'Indian Terracottas', *JISOA*, Vol. VIII, 1939, p. 107, Pl. IX.

11 E. H. Johnston, 'A Terracotta Figure at Oxford', *JISOA*, Vol. X, 1942, pp. 94-102.

12 Charles Fabri, *A History of Indian Dress*, p. 3 ; G. S. Ghurye, *Indian Costume*, p. 207 ; also see R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 573.

the consequence of the climatic conditions.[13] Foreign influence is also noticed in the fashions of dress.[14]

Some terracotta figurines from Bulandībāgh are distinguished on account of their fluttering skirts and appear to be dancing girls. Despite the great affinity noticed in the poses of these figures with those of the present-day Manipur and Naga dancer,[15] it is difficult to say whether these particular dance forms are as old as that period, even though the tradition of the art of dance goes back as far as the chalcolithic period as is evident from the bronze dancing girl from Mohenjo-daro.

A few terracotta finds from Mathurā, Kauśāmbī, Basarh, etc., reveal foreign ethnic affinities. Two heads from the last mentioned site clearly reveal Perso-Hellenistic influence.[16] The foreigners moved freely among the indigenous population adding colour to the scene, and naturally drew attention of the artist working in clay due to their conspicuous headgears, apparel and facial features.

Thus the elegant terracottas of the period under review reflect the "luxury and decadence of the court life"[17] on the one hand and the wealth and prosperity of the middle classes of those days on the other.

It may be remarked that none of the secular plaques provides us with a glimpse of the other—the darker—side of life. The sculptures in clay as well as stone illustrate the 'love of life or joy taken in existence', the sole fortunate exception being a fragmentary relief from Sarnath[18] representing an unfortunate woman grieving over some unknown loss or sad event

13 Ghurye, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

14 V. S. Agrawala, *Indian Art*, pp. 313-14.

15 H.D. Sankalia and M. K. Dhavalikar, 'The Terracotta Art of India', *Marg*, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, December, 1969, p. 40.

16 *Loc. cit.*

17 S. Suhrawardy, *Prefaces*, University of Calcutta, 1938, p. 40.

18 Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 20 ; Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture*, Calcutta, 1933, Pl. III, fig. 11.

reminding us that life was not all fun, laughter and sunshine, but that tragedy, tears and a shade of sorrow were also part of it. The reasons of the depiction of only the lighter and brighter side of life seems to be that the artist had to consider the tastes and preferences of his clientele who naturally preferred to decorate their drawing rooms with a plaque representing men and women indulged in merry-making and love—scenes of drinking, dancing, picnic parties or amorous couples, etc., rather than a picture of a sorrowing lady with her face bent down in extreme dejection.

Most of the terracotta animal figures from Mathurā, Ahicchatra, etc.,[19] are apparently toys and show that, after all, the children are the same in all ages and lands.

19 V. S. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 315, figs. 238-40.

XVI

GAMBLING IN EARLY INDIAN EPIGRAPHS

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Gambling with dice is known in India from the time of the *Ṛgveda.* In fact, a hymn refers to the 'fascination exercised by gambling and the ruin caused by addiction to it'.[1] What light is thrown on this institution, which played so significant a part in our social life as to turn a king into a beggar overnight or doing just the reverse, by our epigraphical literature, vast and varied, is worth considering, though it is difficult to do full justice to the subject.

Our legal texts including the *Manusmṛti* not only describe gambling as one of the most pernicious vices that a king should shun by all means[2] and condemn it,[3] but also strictly forbid it.[4] Likewise, in some epigraphic records also gambling has been deemed as a bad practice and prohibited. Thus, the Sirpur stone inscription af Mahāśivagupta[5] while referring to the conditions for the gift mentioned in the record states that the sons and grandsons of the donees will also enjoy the gift if they are not addicted to bad practices like gambling, visiting prostitutes, etc. Significantly enough, the Purushottamapuri plates[6] of the Yādava king Rāmacandra (c. 1271-1311 A.D.)

1 *Op. cit.*, X. 34 ; cf. also *The Vedic Age*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, p. 396.

2 VII. 47. 50.

3 *Ibid.*, III. 159-60.

4 *Ibid.*, IX. 221-28. Nārada (XVII.8) and Bṛhaspati (XXXVI. 1) however, permit gambling, if the gamblers pay to the king the share due to him.

5 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 192.

6 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 218, 225.

prohibits this practice in a gift estate (*dyūtapracāro='pi nivāraṇīyaḥ*).

Though gambling has often been condemned in strong terms as is shown above, its practice seems to have continued throughout the ages as is apparent from a large number of references to it in our literary sources.[7] What is interesting in this connection is the evidence of an inscription[8] of the time of king Durgagaṇa dated Vikrama 764 (689 A.D.) from Jhalrapatan (Rajasthan). Quite in keeping with the literary descriptions,[9] the record refers to the attending of gambling parties by kings. It speaks of one Voppaka and describes him as the superintendent of the gambling parties attended by rich kings. The expression used for 'the superintendent of gambling' in the inscription is *Dyūtasabhāpati* which seems to correspond to the *Dyūtādhyakṣa* of some literary text referred to by Monier-Williams.[10]

Apart from revealing the fact that gambling was commonly practised in the society in spite of the proclamations prohibiting it and that kings sometimes used to take part in it, our epigraphic records tend to show that gambling sometimes even

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7 Cf. Armara's *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana,* ed. Har Dutta Sharma and N. G. Sardesai, Poona, 1941, p. 235; Monier-Williams, *A Sanskṛit-English Dictionary*, 1899, p. 500.

8 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 181-82.

9 Cf. Yudhiṣṭhira's participation in gambling referred to in the *Mahābhārata* which also condemns gambling (*Kiṁ te dyūtena rājendra bahu-doṣeṇa mānada* 1 *devane bahavo doṣās=tasmāt tat parivarjjayet // Śrutas=te yadi vā dṛṣṭaḥ Pāṇḍavo hi Yudhiṣṭhiraḥ / sa rājyaṁ sumahat sphītaṁ bhrātṛṁś=ca tridaś-opamān // Dyūte hāritavān sarvaṁ tasmād=dyūtaṁ na rocaye//*

10 *Op. cit.*, p. 500. In some inscriptions of the Ganjam-Srikakulam region, occurs the expression *akṣaśālin, akṣaśālika* or *arkaśālin* (*Ind. And.*, Vol. XIII, P. 123; Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions, Nos. 1679, 1496-97; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 173; Vol. XXIX, p. 40 and note, and p. 43) which Kane (*History of Dharmaśāstra,* Vol. III, p. 976) took to mean 'the keeper of the gambling hall'. But, the correct meaning of the expression which seems to be the Sanskritised form of *Akkasāle,* is 'goldmith' (Sircar, *Ind. Ep Gloss.*, p. 15).

formed a source of state revenue. The Vilavatti grant[11] of the Pallava king Siṁhavarman of the sixth century A. D., while recording the gift of a village, states that 'whichever taxes are realisable in this gift village such as *loha-carma-kar-āpaṇa,* i.e., taxes from the shops maintained by metal and leather workers, *paṭṭakāra* (professional tax from silk weavers), *prāvārañcara* (tax for the maintenance of spies), *rajju* (tax for the maintenance of surveyors), *pratihāra* (tax for the maintenance of gate-keepers collecting tolls or for entry into the royal palaces), *āpaṇ-ājīvika* (tax from shopkeepers, etc.), as also the dues from the *nāhala* (outcastes), *mukhadharaka* (masked actors), *kūpa-darśaka* (water-diviners), *tantravāya* (weavers), *dyūta* (gambling), *vivāha* (marriage) and *nāpita* (barber) and the cess payable by the artisans who enjoyed land endowed with all exemptions —all such taxes due to us have been given to this donee as *brahmadeya*'.[12] Thus the record refers to gambling and describes it as a source of income. But, such income from a gift-village, as stated in the inscription, the king did not accept. It went to the donee as a *brahmadeya.* Gambling as a source of revenue is also reflected in the Mangrol (Kathiawāḍ) inscription of Vikrama 1202 (1145 A.D.), which mentions a daily tax of one *kākiṇī* on gambling.[13] In the Bilhari inscription[14] of Kalacuri Yuvarāja II of Tripurī, occurs an expression *dyūta-kaparda* which literally seems to mean *kaparda* collected from *dyūta,* i.e., gambling, and this interpretation gains support from the Mangrol inscription referred to above. But, as V. V. Mirashi points out, the context of the inscription suggests that *dyūta-kaparda* denoted the name of a coin which was smaller

11 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 298, 303.

12 Sircar, *Ind. Ep. Gloss.*, p. 61.

13 *Bhavnagar Inscriptions*, pp. 158 ff.; cf. also V. V. Mirashi, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 223, note 8.

14 Cf. *Pūgaphala-marica-śuṇṭhī-prabhṛtiṣu bhāṇḍeṣu bharaka-pauras=tu vīthīṁ ca prati ca kaparddī dyūta-kaparddās=tu śāka-varttākam* (v. 80 of the inscription; cf. *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol IV, pp. 215, 223).

than a *kaparda*, as the epigraph refers to a payment by the *dyūta-kaparda*. Mirashi is also of the opinion that it was so called because it was frequently used as a stake in gambling. If Mirashi's opinion is accepted, then the *dyūta-kaparda* may be compared to the *dyūtabīja* of the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* which Monier-Williams explains 'as a cowrie, a small shell used as a coin and in playing'.[15]

15 *Op. cit.*, p. 500.

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Page 13, top.— *Read*– I
„ 30, top.— *Read*—II
„ 33, line 12.— *Read*—Geryones
„ 39, top.— *Read*– III
„ 44, top.— *Read*—IV
„ 48, note— *Read*—socio-religious
„ 49, top.— *Read*—V
„ 58, note 26.— *Read*—Siddhanta
„ 61, line 6.— *Add Editorial Note on 'bear'*—Possibly 'boar'. The meat of bear was usually regarded as a forbidden food. See below, p. 100.
„ 82, line 7.— *Read*—generations
„ 111, line 15.— *Read*—Karṇāṭa
„ „ note 8, line 3.— *Read*— echo
„ 114, line 8.— *Read*—Kāśī
„ „ line 23.— *Read*—Karṇāṭa
„ 119, line 19.— *Read—Parakīyā*
„ 132, line 24.— *Read*—the
„ 135, note 69, line 5.—*Read*—Kok Po
„ 149, note 7, line 1.—*Read*—Amara's

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